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MSZMP Conference Opens 20 May

Delegates Listed

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[Excerpt] Budapest, May 20 (MTI)—Friday morning the national conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party opened at the Rozsa Ferenc Culture Centre of Construction Workers in Budapest. The party membership of over 800,000 are represented by 860 delegates. In attendance are, with voting rights, the members of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee, and invited guests. Inscriptions in the decorated conference room declare, "For socialism, under the guidance of the party, on the road of democracy and reforms" and "for advance and renewal with national cooperation".

The Central Committee decided in December last year to hold a national party conference with a wider scope of authority than the usual "intermediate Central Committee session" between the two congresses, on timely questions of socialist building work. In the history of the HSWP there was only one such conference, held in the period of consolidation in June 1957. The draft policy statement of the present national conference, published earlier, was discussed amid extensive debate and now the delegates can take a stand on party tasks and the development of the system of political institutions in knowledge of the views of the overwhelming majority of party members. The forum also has the responsible duty to re-elect the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee.

The Presidium of the conference includes Gyorgy Aczel, general director of the Institute of Social Sciences of the HSWP Central Committee, Tamas Beck, general manager of the Budaflax linen and weaving industrial company, president of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, Jaos Berecz, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, Judit Csehak, minister of health and social welfare, Jozsef Dudla, first secretary of the Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen Country Committee, Maria Duschek, president of the National Council of Hungarian Women, Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, Jeno Fock, retired chairman of the Council of Ministers, president of the Association of Scientific and Technical Organizations, Karoly Garaczi, production engineer of the Kecskemet factory of the machine tool works, Sandor Gaspar, president of the Central Council of Trade Unions, Matyas Gog, manager of the model farm of Herceghalom, Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Andras Gyenes, chairman of the Central Control Committee of the HSWP.

Also seated in the Presidium were Ferenc Havasi, first secretary of the Budapest Committee of the HSWP, Csaba Hamori, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary, Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Gyula Kallai, president of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, Lajos Koveskuti, president of the telecommunications cooperative, president of the National Council of Industrial Cooperatives, Gyorgy Lazar, deputy general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Janos Lukacs, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, Kalman Magyar, secretary of the Party Committee of the Semmelweis Medical University, university professor, Laszlo Marothy, minister of environmental protection and water management, Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Veronika Mihalics, first secretary of the Somogy County Committee of the Communist Youth Union, Karoly Nemeth, president of the Presidential Council, Laszlo Nemeth, first secretary of the Eger Municipal Committee of the HSWP, Miklos Nemeth, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, Imre Olajos, president of the Rakoczi agricultural cooperative of Kardoskut, Mrs Olah, head of department of the Gardenia lace curtain factory, Dr Maria Ormos, rector of the Janus Pannonius University of Arts and Sciences, Miklos Ovari, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, Lenard Pal, secretary of the HSWP Central committee, Mrs Schmidt, grinder of the Diosgyor machine factory, Gyorgy Schwajda, director of the Szigligeti theatre of Szolnok, Istvan Szabo, president of the Red Star agricultural cooperative of Nadudvar, president of the National Council of Agricultural Production Cooperatives, Antal Sziklai, chairman of the Fejer Country Council, Istvan Szlamenicky, general secretary of the National Council of Consumer Cooperatives, Matyas Szuros, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, Ilona Tatai, general director of the Taurus rubber industrial company, and Laszlo Varga, general secretary of the National Council of the Hungarian Pioneers' Federation. [passage omitted]

Lazar Gives Opening Address

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[Address by Gyorgy Lazar, deputy general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, opening MSZMP conference in Budapest—live]

[Text] I open the national conference. I inform you that the regional party committees have elected 859 delegates out of whom 38 represent plants and institutions with memberships exceeding 1,000 party members. The conference participants are complemented by 131 members of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee, which means that altogether 990 comrades have the right to vote in this way. Here at the party conference 986 comrades are present and four comrades are absent with prior consent. In other words the national party conference has a quorum.

The election of the delegates has taken place in accordance with the Central Committee resolution, which was the case everywhere. Accordingly Budapest, the county, and the party committees of county rights elected one delegate for every 1,000 party members. The party organs authorized in this regard have had wide ranging

consultations in the course of the selection of delegates, and they have solicited the views of the local party committees and basic organizations. As a result every generation of the party, all strata of our society, and every territorial unit of our country is represented in the national party conference.

Dear comrades, I announce that the groups of delegates have adopted— without changes—the proposals which have been previously distributed regarding the presidium, and the working committees of the secretariat of the party conference, the editorial committee, and the returning committee. They agreed that the second agenda point should be named "Organizational and Personnel Issues". A complementary proposal has been received regarding the composition of the nominating committee. The Hungarian People's Army delegates proposed that both the Foreign Ministry delegation and the Border Guard delegation be represented in the nominating committee and with this the nominating committee of 33 should become 35 strong. I propose that this initiative be accepted, and thus all groups of delegates will be represented on the nominating committee.

The groups of delegates also agreed that we should vote on the proposals together. Before this takes place, I ask if anybody has a question or a proposal. I see, no one has. After this I ask that those who agree with the proposals just outlined raise his delegate certificate to vote. Thank you. Who opposes them? Has anybody abstained? I see nobody has. I state that the Party conference has adopted the proposals regarding the Presidium of the consultation, its agenda, its order, its working committees, and it has done so unanimously in accordance with the modifications outlined. I ask the groups of delegates of the Foreign Ministry and the Border Guard to nominate their representatives and to inform the chairman of the Nominating Committee accordingly.

Dear comrades, the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee at their 10 May meeting, with the aim of assisting the renewal of the leading bodies of the Party, decided to propose to the national party conference that the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee be reflected. The mandate of the present Central Committee and Central Control Committee remains in effect until the reelection of the leading bodies. The Central Committee also proposes that in the course of the renewal of the bodies the numerical membership of the two bodies should not change significantly. I remind you that presently the Central Committee has 106 members and the Central Control Committee has 25 members. The groups of delegates have agreed that the Nominating Committee should make its proposal by taking as a point of departure the position described above. I ask if anybody has a question or a comment to raise? I see no one has; therefore, I ask that those who agree that the bodies should be reelected and that the numerical membership of the bodies to be elected should not change significantly should vote with their delegate certificate. Thank you.

I see nobody has abstained. I state that the party conference unanimously agrees to the reelection of the Central Committee and the Central Constrol Committee and that the present numerical composition of these bodies should not change significantly.

Esteemed party conference, dear comrades, during the 3 years which have passed since our 13th party congress, several outstanding personalities of the Hungarian Worker's Movement have died. Najos Brutyo, Istvan Czerhati, Karoly Herczeg, Dezsoe Memes, Istvan Olah, and Ferenc Revesz, comrades of the Cental Committee; and Imre Gyoeri and Imre Takacs, comrades of the Centarl Control Committee. We remember with respect our dead comrades-in-arms. Please let us honor their memory with 1 minutes silence.

Dear women comrades, and comrades, on the occasion of the opening of the HSWP national party conference, I greet with respect the delegated and invited comrades. I greet the outstanding personalities of the Hungarian Worker's Movement and its highly respected veteran fighters. I also cordially greet our friends outside the Party. I greet every member of our Party, I greet our working class, our cooperative peasantry, our intelligentsia and all the true faithful of socialism.

I wish the national party conference successful work and at the same time, I propose the start of the debate of the first agenda point. I ask Janos Kadar, our comrade, general secretary of our party, to give his speech.

Kadar Delivers Report

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[Report delivered by Janos Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee at a MSZMP conference held in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed party conference, dear comrades. It has become a regular event in our party, when, between two congresses, beyond the half-way mark of the 5-year period, the Central Committee, at an extended session, reviews the development and experiences of the implementation of the Congress resolutions.

In December of last year the Central Committee decided that it will fulfil this obligation not at the usual session, but with the convening of a national party conference. The convening of the party conference is justified by the situation which developed after the 13th congress.

A Marxist-Leninist party which thinks and acts responsibly must carry out the analysis of the situation strictly, weighing up the facts. What do the facts show? In the 1st 2 years of the 7th 5-year plan the gross national total product grew by 4.9 percent; industrial production by 5.8 percent; agricultural production by 0.8 percent. In 1987 we spent 9.4 percent more on investments than in 1985. The real income of the population per capita has

grown 2.4 percent in 2 years; the real per capita income of workers and employees by 1.3 percent. In 1986 the state budget deficit was 46.9 billion forints; in 1987 it was 35 billion forints. Our gross debt, in convertible currency, grew to $18 billion; our nett debt grew to $10.9 billion.

As well as the figures which show development, we must see also that there qualitative changes in our economy, that the transformation of the structure is proceeding slowly, that the internal and external financial balance has deteriorated: As a consequence of all this the conditions are missing not only for the discernible rise in the standard of living, but also for its comprehensive protection. All this shows that the analysis of the situation made by the 13th congress and the aims set for the development of the economy and the standard of living did not have adequate foundation, and that implementation of these aims has also fallen behind demands.

Recognizing this, the Central Committee developed—and raised as a resolution in July last year—the program for economic and social resurgence. In September the government presented a 3-year economic stabilization program before the National Assembly, which it accepted.

The development of the economic situation naturally affected the social and political life of the country as well. Disaffection increased with the halting of the economic and social development to which we had grown accustomed in earlier years, brought about by the increase in unaccustomed difficulties. Because of the present difficulties, more people now see the future as being uncertain. Under the changed conditions our political institutions system is not performing at its optimum level. There have been disturbances in its functioning. The mood of the public has deteriorated. Confidence in the party and in the leaders has decreased.

As usual in such instances, both outside and within the country's borders, all those who like to fish in troubled waters have appeared, and are now trying to use the country's problems against the socialist system.

Taking all this into consideration, the Central Committee decided that the higher forum representing the party organs and organizations—the national party conference which has now met in session—should review the situation of the party, and should set out the most important tasks before the next congress.

It is obvious that if the party conference focuses its attention on the main political issues of the greatest concern to the party membership and public opinion, and takes a firm stand on these issues, then it will have provided the indispensable clear guidance for the absolutely necessary improvement of practical work. It is a no less important task for the party conference to renew, rejuvenate, the personnel composition of the leading bodies, which the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee also regard as timely, and which they recommend.

In line with the traditions of our movement, the party conference is a conference of delegates of party organs—the Central Committee, the Central Control Committee, the Budapest committee, and the county and county-entitlement party committees. However, our entire party membership and wide circle of our allies outside the party participated in the preparations for the party conference, within the framework of the debate on the draft. Hundreds of thousands of contributions were made in the course of the organized debates, and many thousands of recommendations were forwarded to us. On behalf of the Central Committee, I would like to thank our party membership, especially members of bodies who were asked to express an opinion, all those who helped the preparation work with their opinions and recommendations. Of the recommendations received, the Central Committee, in the finalization of the draft standpoint, utilized all those which were capable of being incorporated in those standpoints. Several amendments were received which in themselves would have been acceptable, but the list cannot be increased endlessly. Many observations and recommendations were received which are correct, but which are not appropriate for the draft standpoint; however, they can be utilized in the course of the implementation. The Central Committee is putting these recommendations into a systematized form, and will make them available to the leaders of the organs whose duty it is to carry out their implementation.

In the preparatory stage, the question was raised in several places converning those matters in which the party conference had the authority to decide. The organizational rules do not give details on the tasks of the party conference. We must look for the answer not in document paragraphs, but must evaluate it from a political aspect. If we approach the matter in this spirit, I can say that it is the right and duty of the party conference to decide on all matters where the situation demands this, where, according to the experiences of the preliminary debates, the large majority of the party membership regards this as necessary.

Several people have said that the time available for the debate was too short. There is a great deal of truth in this opinion. Nonetheless, I believe that more harm would be done by delaying the decisions than there might have been profit from lengthening the preparation period. In any case, the debate did not really begin in April this year. The party, from the basic organizations to the Central Committee, has been dealing with the issues on the agenda for a longer time. Last year the entire party worked through the program for economic and social resurgence. Individual conversations were held with every single party member in connection with the exchange of party membership cards. During the winter

there was a wide-ranging debate in the party concerning ideological work and the renewal of the system of political institutions. The debate conducted in April could built also on the experiences of these, and it is thus that it was possible to conduct this debate successfully in a relatively short time.

The contributions and comments point in one and the same direction in terms of the main issues. Therefore the party conference not only has the mandate, but also the possibility to formulate the stance to strengthen party unity.

Dear comrades, the draft stance is the only document of the party conference. Its every detail, theme, is important. It is not the first time that the delegate comrades have encountered it, and it is obvious that they know it well. Therefore I will forego giving you a detailed familiarization of it and its justification, and in the rest of my introduction I intend to call attention only to a few issues.

The party conference must create a clear and transparent situation, especially regarding the direction of the road we intend to follow in the future. Our party is struggling to achieve the historical objectives of the working class and the construction of a socialist society. The point of departure and starting objective of its every decision, the essence and meaning of its entire activity, is that building a socialist society in Hungary should continue successfully. This is the basis in terms of both principle and the politics of the continuation of our alliance policy. Therefore it is impermissible that any uncertainty should remain within the party on this question. We accept and support every proposal, regardless from whom it comes, which serves the cause of socialism. We are even ready to compromise if such compromises help the achievement of our socialist objectives. With a similar resolution we take a stand against all endeavors which attack the foundations of our socialist system.

The party proclaims its aims openly. There is not one element in its policy which we should keep secret. Our most important endeavor is for people to know and accept our objectives. Therefore, the number one requirement of openness as far as the party is concerned is to ensure that regarding our objectives there should be no doubts, neither among our friends nor our partners, nor even among our enemies, among our foes. If we want to reach our goal we must also speak openly about the fact that without effort, without temporary sacrifices, we cannot achieve results. People accept difficulties, they even understand mistakes if they hear frank words and understand the objective.

In the development of political openness, the press—communists working in the press, the television and in radio—have an important and responsible role. It is a political and moral requirement that the mass communication organs serve the building of socialism, report good experiences, popularize exemplary results, criticize—with the intention of improving—the mistakes; they should urge readiness to act rather than encourage a paralyzing pessimism.

People's power is the principal guarantee in our progress under the rule of socialism. During the debates in the past few months many words have been uttered about the class content of this power, about its character; scientists are examining and debating these structural changes in our society. It is a fact that in the construction of socialism in the period to date, deep-rooted changes have taken place in the class relations and the structure of our society.

Following the socialist reorganization of agriculture, the number of those working in agriculture has decreased. In the period of the extensive development of the economy, the number of workers has grown rapidly, but it will decrease with the start of the transformation to intensive development. At the same time the role of the highly qualified intellectual increases.

The 3 days of the party congress are not sufficient for scientific examinations, but when discussing the issue of power, we must take an unambiguous and clear stance. In Hungary there are no exploiting classes. Hungarian society is the society of workers, where all power belongs to the working people. This people's power has been achieved under the leadership of the working class; it is the principal achievement of political struggles, and has been created based on the worker-peasant alliance and with the support of the intelligentsia. In accepting this, the party takes a resolute stand against every attempt aimed at weakening people's power, and it judges very strictly any form of abuse of power.

Comrades, the strength and firmness of people's power depends to a large extent on the successful functioning of the system of political institutions. The party considers the further development of our society's system of political institutions to be necessary, but emphasizes that this is a process which requires time. It is not only now that we set ourselves the task of realizing this. The party, having shaped a clear principled standpoint in connection with the functioning of our system of political institutions, had an important role in overcoming the sociopolitical crisis of 1953-57.

The party does not place itself above any kind of institution, even less so above the law. On the contrary. In a grave situation it waged a successful fight, with the support of the great majority of our people, in the restoration of the legal order of the Hungarian People's Republic. Today, and in the future, it considers its main duty to be that of observing our country's legal order and ensuring that it is observed.

We have broken with the practice of intending simple, conveyor-belt roles for social and mass organizations. We have declared that these organizations are independent, that they function independently. The party's organs do not pass resolutions, obligatory resolutions, on them. The party's political guiding role is realized via the communists who work in them. We declared the principle that, with the exception of party functions, every position in the country can be filled by a non-party person if he is otherwise appropriate. We have reduced staff numbers in the apparatuses, subordinating them to the direction of the elected bodies. We have endeavored to reduce overcentralization, taking it as our starting point that every issue should be decided, as far as possible, where the best knowledge for such a decision is to be found. In this manner, the independence and responsibility of the local organs have grown.

Our objective was to replace direct guidance by the responsible work of autonomous organs and bodies. The system of competitions, commissions which have deadlines, and dual and multiple candidacy is taking shape. All this facilitates the opportunity for workers to have a direct say in the decision-making process. There has not always been success in every sphere in asserting these correct principles in practice. It is easier to tread the accustomed path, to choose the solution which appears to be more pleasant, than to initiate, innovate, perhaps take risks, and to accept responsibility for decisions. The situation is changing. Our previously correct decisions are no longer satisfactory in the present situation.

These days the requirement of socialist development makes it necessary for us to devote special attention to the development of the system of political institutions. That is why some years ago the party initiated the comprehensive reform of our system of political institutions. We encountered many views in the preparatory debate. The surfacing of these various views, which often contradicted one another, was a natural concomitant of debate, which is a good thing.

At the same time, it also was my experience that owing to the lack of clarity of some issues, ideological uncertainty grew, not just outside the party, but in the party as well, and this is not good. Therefore, the party conference's task is to take a stance, to create a clear situation, in some important basic political issues which are at the center of the debate.

In my opinion, these issues are the following: The goal of the comprehensive reform of our political institutions is to strengthen the people's power, the socialist system. I propose that the party conference support in the most far-reaching way every reform which serves this goal, and it should reject every endeavor which points toward bourgeois democracy or anarchy, or contains utopian ideas that do not take into account the current Hungarian socialist reality. I further propose that the party conference affirm: We want more socialism, and this means more democracy. More democracy entails more responsibility. There is no obligation without rights, and there are no rights without obligation.

In the long historical phase of building socialism, the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party is indispensable. For this reason, I advise the party conference to take the stance that a central issue of the reform of the system of political institutions is also the renewal of the party's own activity, as well as the clearer delineation of tasks between the party, and state and social organs.

For a long time the Central Committee has tried to have the party's central and district leading bodies and organizations, while respecting the independence of our society's various institutions, above all to strive for the assertion of the principles of our domestic and foreign policy, our economic policy, and our cultural policy. What must be worked on is to have this endeavor asserted with more determination and thoroughness in practice than it has been up til now. Thus, it is necessary to have the independence and responsibility of the National Assembly, the government, the ministries, the councils, local economic organs, factories, and institutions grow and to have their work develop.

The party follows the same principle as the various interest representation organs—the direction of, for example, the trade unions, KISZ, the cooperative organs, the economic chamber, and other related institutions. In connection with the interest representation organs, the following must be said, too: Since in our homeland there is no possibility for the creation of other parties opposing the MSZMP, those forces which endeavor to loosen the socialist system by using well-intentioned people who think things through, make their attempts through interest representations. The party condemns those endeavors which are directed toward breaking up the unity of the trade union and youth movements.

The party is resolutely following its alliance policy. In construction work, in order to serve the interests of the nation and the country, the alliance, solidarity, and cooperation of the classes and strata—which are ever more similar to each other as a consequence of development—of the workers, of the peasants, of the intelligentsia, of party members, of those outside the party, and of the people who adhere to various ideologies, is indispensable.

Also from this point of view, the Patriotic People's Front movement, which gathers together the party, other political organizations, and those people who agree on the fundamental matters of socialist construction, has a particularly important role. It must be given the necessary political support for the development of its work.

Our party organizations should turn greater attention to the work of mass organizations and mass movements. They should, through the exemplary work of communists, see to the adequate representation of the the party's standpoint and assertion of its policy.

Dear comrades, I inform the party conference that in the course of the individual conversations held during the exchange of party membership cards, and the political debates held in the base organizations, the activity of the party membership has grown, views have become clarified, and the unity of our party has strengthened. Convening the party conference and the draft standpoint of the Central Committee are supported by the party membership and the Budapest and country party committees.

The organizational level of our party can be evaluated as high. Party membership exceeds 800,000—this is over 10 percent of the adult population. Party membership is voluntary; it means more work and responsibility taken on in the service of interests of concepts and the nation. It does not, cannot, carry with it any kind of personal advantage.

In the course of the exchange of party membership cards, the party membership of around 45,000 people was discontinued. Some of these were for personal reasons, others were canceled by the party organizations. Since, in the given situations, this is the appropriate solution for either the person or the party organization, any kind of discrimination against those who have left is impermissible.

Dear comrades, our party, which came into being as the party of the working class, has, following the success of the socialist revolution, gradually become the party of the whole working nation, the leading force in ideas and politics, of our society. In its activities, it is guided by scientific socialism, the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and it works as an organized force, on the basis of the principles of democratic centralism.

As is obvious from the draft standpoint, our party, so that it can worthily satisfy its historic mission, is ready for a renewal appropriate to the demands of the situation, both in internal party life and in its activities in society, and has resolutely committed itself to this; it is progressing on the path of democratization and reform.

In the future, it wishes to operate all the more as a political party. It sees as its fundamental task ensuring the building of a socialist society and serving the interests of the nation. With the assertion of its standpoint, the tool is ideologically and politically convincing.

The indispensable condition for realizing our goals is to order the ranks of the party, to strengthen its unity, and to improve its functioning. The MSZMP has a determining role among our political institutions. Its work, its successful functioning, is the fundamental guarantee for socialist development.

The Central Committee, precisely in the interest of creating a sound basis for political decisions and improving their quality, and in the interest of their more consistent and organized implementation, recommends far-reaching changes in the party's functioning and internal life. It recommends introducing practical solutions that exert a greater influence in the direction of multifaceted evaluation, taking the various interests and views into consideration.

We want to develop unequivocal relations of responsibility, within whose framework the bodies will continue to make decisions collectively, and we cannot forgo this in the future either. At the same time, while maintaining collective leadership, we cannot forego the demand for personal responsibility in making and implementing decisions. There is both the requirement and the possibility for this, which the recent months' debates reflect well.

The wide-ranging exchange of views that has been carried out with the party membership has in many ways introduced a new style in the debates. This is a great gain for our party. The experience of the debates has once again demonstrated that we have a well-equipped, informed, and active party membership who intend to bring about improvements.

The recommendations of the Central Committee consequently suggest that the party members, its organs, and organizations at various levels should have a greater scope for participation in those decisions, whose representation and implementation will be their duty. This is also served by the significant expansion of the scope of the party organizations to make initiatives. We also wish to provide practical guarantees for realizing the principle that the party organizations, the basic organizations, should be independent, responsible political masters of their area of functioning. Let them elect their own leaders and officials and let them be freed from unnecessary restrictions by simplifying the system of direction inside the party.

In line with the internal order of our party, on important political issues the Central Committee has to have the decisive word inside the party. This explains the recommendation that the Central Committee meet in session whenever necessary, and that it devote more time to evaluating opinions. In the draft standpoint that has been submitted, the Central Committee endeavors to ensure that transforming the internal life of the party serves the strengthening and fulfillment of the fundamental values and organizational principles of the communist movement. We also wish to create better conditions with the recommended changes for the continuous work that is indispensable for strengthening the party's ideological, political, organizational, and action unity.

The Central Committee's draft standpoint also supports the recommendation that before a decision, submissions must provide information on the alternatives, the different possible solutions, the minority views. In this connection, it is necessary to recall that those who have remained in a minority with their views have the right—while maintaining the obligation to implement the

majority decision—to ask that their arguments and ideas be reexamined. If the national party conference gives its agreement in principle, the practical solutions can be developed within a short time.

At the same time, the possibility of correcting a decision when it is occasionally necessary cannot mean abandoning the principle of democratic centralism.

Organizing factions inside the party cannot be permitted. In a particularly difficult period of our homeland's modern history, the MSZMP shaped its new line in the course of the two-front struggle with the sectarian, dogmatic, and revisionist views. It restored the party's idelogical, political, and action unity and regained the support of the masses. Today, under radically different conditions, nonetheless, it is my view that the development of the unity of outlook and action necessary for socialist renewal is facilitated by the utilization of the experiences of the struggle on two fronts.

Neither in the future does the party wish to follow the practice of pronouncing certain theoretical theses in the form of resolutions. However, the party membership rightly demands that the leading bodies take a stand on the most important ideological and political questions affecting the main direction of socialist development and the reform processes.

The Central Committee has firmly committed itself in favor of socialist democracy, self-government, support for citizen's initiatives, and the expansion of social openness, and it recommends that the party conference strengthen these policies.

We must also expect that those who do not accept our policy's principle direction, nor moreover even our existing social system, use—and what's more abuse—the expanding possiblities of democracy and openness. If these expressions appear on the level of views, we must take a stand against them by using the methods of argument and political struggle. We will not allow hostile endeavors or political organization in breach of socialist legality and constitutional order in the future either. We do not intend to multiply the number of our enemies by using labels, but we can justifiably expect obedience toward our laws and the defense of our constitutional order, which may be required of any citizen.

Comrades, there are those who have doubts and ask whether the party, working in a new fashion, will be able to fulfill its leading role. It is our conviction that the answer is yes, provided that we also increase the standard of requirement in political work— and if the center, the Central Committee, the middle-level directing organs, all the organizations, and members of the party work for this. Being well-informed, cultured, and capable of arguing in a cultured fashion are indispensable as are daily close contacts with the working people and with small and large communities. Consistent and well-thought-out decisions and considered organizing work are also requirements. It is a key question in assessing the result of our work and the success of our politics whether we have won over the majority of people with convincing arguments, patience, and example.

Dear comrades, work is the basis of the life of a society. It is the fundamental issue of development that via the maintenance of the humanistic features of socialist society we should create the conditions of effective economic work. The task to be solved is well known. We have a program of resurgence and a program of stabilization which the legislature has adopted. I propose that the national party conference confirm these two programs and that until the next party conference, due in 2 years, that it place their implementation at the fore of the economic and political work. Initial results of this effort are already appearing. Industrial production last year moved from stagnation; it has increased, and so has the national income. Furthermore in the first quarter of this year, for the first time in a long time, the foreign trade balance was at equilibrium. These are good signs but the necessary turn has not yet taken place. In the struggle for effective economic management the leading bodies and the government have their own tasks, but it must be said that the battle is ultimately decided in the production plants and in the work places.

In my introduction I only want to touch on some issues of principle concerning economic work. In our country it is socialist planning and a valued judgment of the market which must jointly determine economic work. Planning must be conceived in a new way. As a result of the given qualities of our country, the openness of our economy, the shaping of the national income depends to a large extent on exports. The world economy is in a state of rapid change. Supply and demand both depend on this, and change accordingly. It is clear that under these circumstances the 5-year plan of the people's economy can only give a program of directions; it cannot plan for 5 years, detail by detail, the volume of goods to be produced and sold. Effective economic management demands remuneration according to the performance. On the one hand, it must be ensured that loss-making production should be cut back, while on the other hand, capital goods and manpower must be regrouped into effective working enterprises.

The right to work is still observed, and this means that care must be taken to solve in an institutionalized manner the problems of those people who need to be retrained, or who are temporarily out of work.

Outstanding among the measures under preparation is the bill on economic associations. The Central Committee has debated and adopted the bill's guidelines, but due to the political significance of the draft bill, the Central Committee considered it necessary to ask for the stance of the party conference.

The law of economic associations now under prepartion guards the determining role of state and cooperative ownership, but it assumes that in the long, historical period of building a socialist society, private ownership will survive to a limited extent, and that it is rational to integrate this by law into our economic life.

The modernization of our economy, the implementation of the structure transformation, also make it necessary that—likewise within legal frameworks and with the appropriate regualtion—we should make use of foreign operating capital, both from the socialist and the capitalist countries. To regulate these company forms, the law will facilitate the flow of capital to the effectively functioning areas, and with this will assist the implementation of our resurgence program.

We must also mention that these changes do not only enrich the organizational forms of economic activity. Beyond the quantitative changes, we must also face issues such as how we should act; how we should regard incomes acquired without working; what is our relation to profit, to dividends, or even to exploitation. These issues have to be regarded first and foremost as practical, that is as political, and not as ideological issues. Our socialist system is a guarantee that the rule of the exploiting classes may never again return in our country.

Dear comrades, if we speak about more socialism, this means more culture; if we say more democracy, this requires a higher degree of education. The national party conference does not have the means to deal in detail with the issues of education and of cultural life. On the other hand, I do propose that we reaffirm the old socialist axiom that helping cultural development, the material and moral appreciation of knowledge, is in the vital interest of our society.

I understand that among intellectual circles there are reproaches about the scantiness of material means serving scientific and cultural objectives. On the other hand, I cannot accept this as being seen as an anticultural political trend. The amount of material means that can be devoted to science and culture does not express a political concept; it derives from a situation dictated by necessity—one that is, hopefully, temporary. In this connection there are several tasks. The government's task—insofar as the country's situation makes it possible—is to increase the share of science and culture in the budget. The directing bodies of scientific and cultural life should devote increased attention to making the best possible use of the not small amount which is at their disposal in the fields of creation and culture.

We say to our friends among the intelligentsia that in helping the implementation of our resurgence program they should contribute to the expansion of the material means available for distribution. The party has long pursued the principle that the freedom of scientific research and artistic creation must be assured. It deems as justified the rebuke that, in cultural life, a misrepresented commercial spirit should not permit the promotion of bad taste at the expense of real cultural values.

The party counts on creative artists to develop public taste, to curb activity that undermines public morality, and to propagate socialist and humanistic ideas. It trusts that the representatives of our cultural life will take a stand against the spread of pseudolearning, sham activity, the cult of violence, and numerous forms of bad taste.

Also on the political field, more favorable conditions must be created for creative work. There must be greater trust in the sense of political responsibility of the creative intelligentsia. There is no need for tutelage, for interfering in minor affairs, for direct direction with administrative means. The sense of responsibility for the future of the socialist homeland makes it possible to build fruitful partner-like relations between our political institutions and the intelligentsia ready for real creative work.

Disputes are natural concomitants of life, and they can produce much that is of benefit if we put aside viewpoints of prestige, and if we work for a common objective.

Esteemed party conference, dear comrades, the party conference is debating first and foremost questions of internal politics. For this reason, the draft standpoint deals little with international questions, but it is unavoidable that we touch on these. This is necessary because events of great significance are taking place in the world. The result of our work depends to a great degree on the development of international relations.

I refer briefly to the fact that our evaluation internationally depends to a decisive degree on the development of our domestic affairs, the solution of our tasks. At present, the foreign opinion of our country is good. It rests on our results attained up to now, our steps renewing socialist practice, and naturally, our international activity, which is evaluated psotively.

Now, knowing the difficult tasks—for which we are struggling to find solutions—attention is turned once again to an increased degree toward the Hungarian People's Republic. Beyond our immediate interests, it is for this reason, too, that we must work satisfactorily, so that the honor of our country, our nation, will grow beyond our borders.

Today, the situation concerning socialism in the world is debated often and in many ways. Seeing the conflicts which go together with socialist development, certain people speak about the crisis of socialism, others reenvigorate very old, conservative anticommunist views. In my opinion, we are witnesses not to the crisis of socialism, but to its renewal. We know, also from our own experiences, that the parturition of our society is painful,

but among these pains the beautiful and healthy society of the future is born. Although the level of development of various countries differs, we have arrived at a new, higher level of development of the world socialist system.

The process of renewal, which started in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, is of enormous significance, for above all this has as its main characteristics the facing up to reality, the actual situation, and openness, which is the first and indispensable condition for solving our tasks.

For us, Hungarian communists, this signals above all that we are proceeding in the main current of socialist development, the reform processes in Hungary have become an integral part of the development of socialism.

Following the initiatives of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact Organization, the international situation has recently changed in a favorable direction. We welcome the Soviet-U.S. talks, the agreement signed in Washington on eliminating medium- and shorter-range nuclear weapons, and the talks on a 50-percent reduction of strategic nuclear weapons.

There will soon be another Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow. Our nation, along with every peace-loving nation in the world, trusts that the leading statesmen of the Soviet Union and the United States, which have a great influence on the fate of the world, will be able to advance further on the path that has been started, that mutual and equal security on a lower level of armaments can be realized, and that the primary external condition fo our nation's construction work—peace—can be ensured in a world with less tension.

Esteemed party conference, dear comrades, I have come to the end of my introductory speech. I ask you to debate and accept the draft standpoint submitted by the Central Committee. It is my conviction that the party conference will carry out its task successfully. This is needed all the more, because recently many of our country's people have debated and evaluated the situation.

Examine what is still to be examined, clarify everything that needs to be clarified, but, sterile philosophizing and useless lamentations must be stopped. It is time now for action. What is needed now is unity in the party, solidarity in the country, and a firm stand in politics and in work.

Historical experience proves that the party and the nation, with joint will, have solved tasks much more difficult than the present ones, in a situation much graver than today's. We have enough strength to solve our tasks, and to advance further on the path of building socialism. Thank you. [applause]

Leaders Give Speeches

LD2005170488 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 20 May 88

[Excerpts] The national party conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party got under way this morning in Budapest. [passage omitted]

Ferenc Havasi, the first secretary of the Budapest Party Committee and member of the Politburo, also spoke in the debate. [passage omitted]

[Begin Havasi recording] The experiences of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries also underline that every endeavor that does not make general and fundamental reforms is unsuccessful and futile. With partial and timid reforms, which are regarded only as a means, it is impossible to achieve lasting results. It has been proved that we cannot be successful by changing just a little in every sphere. It must be said that comprehensive social and economic changes are necessary. For a long time, we steered clear of such words. It can be seen that without recognizing this, we cannot break our inertia.

A comprehensive reform brings us face to face with our current system of institutions. It is obvious that it fulfills its purpose only if it does not merely follow the changes in the economy and events, but is also able to assist them. [end recording]

[Unidentified reporter] Csaba Hamori, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League, said that the processes taking place in Hungarian life were not favoring youth.

[Begin Hamori recording] The overwhelming majority of young people live with their families, families where they can expect help and support, but which often also have to help their retired grandparents and whose own circumstances have also become more difficult. This is how the problems of young people become family problems and thus the problems of the whole of society. Naturally, I am not speaking against family solidarity. I regard that as the foundation of every society. What I am advocating is that the welfare of young people should depend to the greatest extent on their own knowledge, diligence, and work; and their chances of getting an apartment, a career, and so on should not be determined so decisively by the financial position of their parents.

It would not be a good thing if simultaneously with the sweeping away of the mistaken principle and practice of egalitarianism—something that we have also urged for a long time—we were to give up the profoundly human and socialist ideal of equal opportunity as well. [end recording]

[Reporter] There were then three quick comments from the row of contributors. Mihaly Panker, delegate of Gyoer-Sopron County, on behalf of his colleagues at work, asked whether society was moving in the correct

direction if the workers collectives could be placed in an uncertain situation. The role and place of the individual is increasingly difficult to predict for the long term because the fates of individuals among the workers at large industrial plants are closely tied to the construction of socialist society.

Mrs Tamas Szabo, delegate from Bacs-Kiskun, recommended to the conference that it should always choose the more radical options. [passage omitted] Mrs Sandor Rajki, secretary of the Gagarin thermal power station's party committee, asked whether the party membership can be blamed for being uncertain, for losing its self-confidence, for becoming impatient and suspicious of the leadership if its experience regularly differs from what the political power proclaims and makes resolutions about.

Gyoergy Bartha, secretary of the party committee of the Budapest Technical University, in a speech which received great applause, spoke about the frequent difficulties in which the party has found itself partly because of postponing solving problems and partly because of the speeded up preparation for the party conference. We have fallen behind in terms of the challenge of the times, he said, and it is feared that we shall have a place in history not as a progressive motivaters, but a conservative force. He outlined the problems that burden the technical intelligentsia, then spoke about the need for personnel changes.

[Begin Bartha recording] The party must at last get over the serious personnel decisions that are weighing it down. A convincing and the widest possible movement of cadres should prove that the party is at the head of the changes. That is why the renewal of the Central Committee and the Politburo is the correct thing if we want to act on the proven experience so that we can expect new plans, new approaches, and new actions from people. Only different people can make credible the promise that the party wants to act in a difference way. This is a powerful effort by the party membership. It is not merely wishful thinking. The statutes too must guarantee it. Regulations are needed that can ensure that the leaders elected today will not lose their dynamism and credibility tomorrow. Regulations are needed in the entire system of institutions that will ensure a regular renewal. [end recording]

[Reporter] Sandor Gaspar, member of the Politburo and chairman of the National Council of Trade Unions believes that one of the reasons for the difficulties has been that the party took too many tasks onto its shoulders, that it implemented the decisions in a mechanical manner, and that the bureaucratic approach has become dominant, which has had a paralyzing effect on society too. He urged a better political division of labor, the creation of a modern system of institutions. Then he said this:

[Begin Gaspar recording] The direct impacts of the socioeconomic unfolding do, for a time, burden on the population and compel them to make sacrifices. The more favorable consequences will not be felt until later. We all know that society's tolerance has limits, therefore we must take into account the material, ideological, and political effects of the unfolding process. The appearance of the tax system, the employment problems, the private and foreign capital, the high inflation all test the thinking and the political faith of the people, too. In addition to outlining the resurgence strategy, we must set—even in the years now facing us—economic aims that will moderate economic behavior that limits consumption and stunts growth. [end recording]

[Reporter] Numerous outstanding representatives of Hungarian intellectual life and many nonparty public figures were among the conference participants. The first who asked for and was granted permission to speak was Academician Dezsoe Keresztury. He said he was impelled to speak by his anxiety for the fate of the country, which is being swept to a serious crisis, as well as by the historical experience he has gained in the course of his career.

[Begin Keresztury recording] I am acquainted with the brute force of world powers, the whirlpools of domestic passions, the earthquakes of the generational changes. For this reason, I see with anxiety that nowadays everything has become bad in your party, that 45,000 have returned their membership cards. Have they perhaps forgotten whose success at one time inspired common joy and relief and filled hearts with the hope of better times? For under the aegis of a well-directed alliance policy, the people have regained their savor for life. And although there are still not enough, nevertheless a lot of houses have been built—even in villages there are often two-story houses with garages. The inhuman mania of the perpetual class struggle has ceased, and for the first time in centuries our fame in the world is due not to our defeated freedom struggles but to our reform experiments, begun with an appropriate sense of proportion.

Therefore, as much as I highly esteem the MSZMP's determination to reveal the crisis situation and to implement the necessary changes, even so the shortcomings of the draft, its disproportions, its contradictions, which cast doubt on the extraordinary objective, fill me with anxiety.

I am happy to note that the garnishment of party jargon has been left out of the text. The sentences can also be understood by the multitude of ordinary people, by the common people. On the other hand, I'm not certain if the sentences' emphatic content will also be clear to them in detail. I confess that they are not entirely clear even to me.

I consider most dangerous the disproportion in the evaluation of education. I quote: The standard of people's learning, education, professional qualification, is

more and more a determining factor of social and economic progress, of the success of the reforms. In this key sentence, the "more and more" is superfluous. Never have culture, intelligent change, or decent development existed without learning. But if the editors know this, then why does education get so disproportionately little space—out of 11 pages barely more than a half page, counting school-related issues? Is it perhaps that such are the proportions in the budget too? I know that we are poor, but even more, we are indecisive. On the other hand, it is commonplace nowadays to say that one of the main causes of the success of the spectacularly advancing small countries is the rapid development of the attention they pay to teaching, education, and intellectual training. [end recording]

[Reporter] The debate is continuing.

More on Speeches

LD2005221288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 20 May 88

[Excerpts] We now report in detail on today's events in the party conference, which was opened by Gyorgy Lazar, deputy general secretary. [passage omitted]

Then Janos Kadar, general secretary of the party, gave a speech. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified reporter] The first speaker in the debate was Ferenc Havasi, first secretary of the Budapest Party Committee and member of the Politburo. In the first part of his speech he mentioned the party debates in the capital which had preceded this conference. He noted the debates were characterized by diversity and responsibility. First, the demand for radical and comprehensive reforms occupied the central position; then the guarding of the achievements of socialism was given similar emphasis and so was the making of personnel decisions needed for the change. What were the causes of the arguments? The fact that for years there had been no answer to questions which preoccupied not only the party membership, but the millions of the population, too. Many people have even come to the conclusion that there was not even any intention to provide answers to some questions.

Ferenc Havasi then said that formalism and bureaucracy had corroded the substantive activities and communist spiritualism, and therefore the relationship of the party and the masses has worsened. Then he went on thus:

[Begin Havasi recording] One of the key questions of our progress—as is emphasized also in the draft stance of the national party conference—is the modernization of the system of political institutions. Today it is no longer a question of whether it needs modernizing. Luckily we have put this decision behind us. Our 20-year-old history of reform has convinced us of the fact that it is impossible to progress successfully in economic reforms if they are not extended beyond the economy to the other spheres of social life. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Ferenc Havasi stated that due to the obsolescence of the system of political institutions, the interests objectively present in society cannot prevail. One example of this is that the changes made in the management of enterprises are reflected only very slowly in changes in the role and structure of the state and organizations representing interests. In closing his speech, Havasi spoke about the future, about the needed work, in his view:

[Begin Havasi interview] We must modernize the system of political institutions within the one-party system in such a way that wide-ranging social control will prevail even in the political activity of the party, which has a leading role. Naturally, it is the party which must, first of all, possess self-controlling, self-correcting mechanisms. However, they are insufficient. Such openness must be ensured for the entire system, starting with the organizations for protecting interests up to the state and social organs, where it is possible, if necessary, to bring an argument, to take it to court [perbeszallni] with the leading political party on the basis of a partnership relation strengthened by guarantees. As long as we do not build such a system, it will always be raised that there is a need for another one or two parties to fulfill this function. Among our tasks, the improvement of the party activity is number one; it should be able to fulfill successfully the tasks placed on its shoulders which stem from the reform and effective operation of the system of political institutions. [end recording]

[Passage omitted] [reporter] Casaba Hamori, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee, has spoken about the situation of the young and about the way in which the party could gain greater influence within the young.

[Begin Hamori recording] The processes do not favor the young. I would like to briefly single out seven areas and look at them from the point of view of the young

1. We are decreasing. The population of our homeland has decreased by nearly 90,000 since 1980, and at the same time the number of those below the age of 30 has declined 4 times as much.

2. Schooling—today too every 20th teacher is unqualified, while each year only 24,000 receive degrees, and nearly 10,000 do not even complete the general schooling.

3. Jobs—economic organizations are offering fewer jobs than the number of graduates.

4. Homes—it is known that 20 percent of the families do not have an independent home even 5 years after marriage. Prices rise so much each year that the price of a small apartment in a housing project exceeds the entire yearly wage of a young person starting his career.

5. The wages of the young—while the real wages of those starting their career have not basically changed since the 1970's, while the wages of those between 50 and 60 doubled in the same period.

6. Child-raising has become more difficult. Following the unrealistic price increases in children's clothing this year the family supplement covers at most one-fourth or one-fifth of the costs. It is food for thought that within the total social allowances, the proportion for child support has declined by 20 percent since 1980.

Finally, the seventh area is the weakening of opportunities for the young in terms of public life and to become leaders. Since 1970 the proportion of young people among white collar workers has declined by 20 percent, while among leaders it has decreased by 60 percent.

What can we do amid our present shortage of funds to reverse the situation outlined? We had lively debates about this in KISZ last year. Our answer is that change can be hoped for only within a wider social sphere, by speeding up social and economic reform, by fundamentally transforming Hungarian socialism and making it more efficient and more democratic. My view is that in Hungary there is still a paternalistic, protective, and limiting youth policy. It is my conviction that despite the great patience of the young, the expansion of the room for maneuver in public life would significantly increase the influence of the party in this age group. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Sandor Gaspar, member of the Politburo and chairman of the National Council of Trade Unions, approved the fact that the party conference debate focused on perfecting the leading role of the party. If we are going to make progress, he said, this will bring with it the modernization of the whole of the system of political institutions and will have a substantial effect on the economic, political, and ideological life of the country as well. He went on:

[Begin Gaspar recording] Let us relieve the party of all the unnecessary burdens that have been placed on it. Let us take a deep breath; and let us ensure that the National Assembly, the government, the trade unions, the PPF do their own tasks independently and responsibly.

[Reporter] The SZOT chairman went on to talk about political work. The point is that the party and the government should take the concerns and intentions of the people into consideration when making decisions. In this work, the trade union movement also has a role to play.

[Begin Gaspar recording] The trade union movement is in the process of seeking the way ahead. From one aspect, it has spectacular rights, it is built into the structure of power. From another aspect, it nevertheless cannot function undisturbed and effectively mainly because of the objective circumstances. The situation is made even more difficult by the fact that in the future the trade unions will carry out their work, their task, in more than one element. They will have to work among different forms of property. One thing is certain—on this we have reached understanding—the interests of those working in different forms of ownership have to be represented and protected by the trade unions with their particular means.

The trade unions must strengthen their relationship of partnership with the party, based on foundations of principle. On the one hand, they must recognize the leading role of the party and enhance its political effect and, on the other hand, they must increase the room for maneuver enjoyed by the trade unions, ensuring full independence and responsibility.

Society demands that the country should have a government which is capable of action, which is strong and decisive. Government work is developing in this direction. This is very good, very welcome. But let no one take umbrage if the trade union movement also wants to represent and manifest its own position firmly and consistently, because only thus can trade union work become credible and gain the support of the masses.

The direction of the development of the trade unions is toward independence, becoming more of a social movement [tarsadalmasitas], and the better representation of the stratum and occupational interests. It is a historical experience that a partitioned and disunited trade union movement can never carry out its task effectively. Partitioned trade union work does not increase but decreases the effectiveness of the trade unions. [end recording]

[Reporter] (Katalin Bleyer), skilled worker at the Kontakta Factory in Szentes, stated the opinion of her colleagues, who analyze the situation very critically, and also made several remarks during the conversations preceding the party conference. They await specific, resolute action and the clarification of some fundamental principles, because the individual judges the state of society in the mirror of his own circumstances and possibilities, Katalin Bleyer said. [passage omitted]

Lajos Menyhart, secretary of the Debrecen Party committee, noted that if the preparation of the party conference had been better, this forum would now be able to adopt decisions as well. [passage omitted]

[Begin Menyhart recording] One of the most essential issues to be decided is, I believe, that the modernization of the system of political institutions cannot be further postponed. The direction of this modernization can only

be democratization, both within the party and in the whole system of relations in the framework of institutions, since an extremely important tool of this can be responsible openness, I emphasize: responsible openness [nyilvanossag], of which we do not have an abundant supply. [end recording]

[Reporter] The country's political situation can be assessed differently, and the country's political mood can again be assessed differently. The MSZMP must learn how to handle this mood, too. The centralized system of institutions fulfilled its role in the initial period of building socialism, but time has passed this by.

[Begin Menyhard recording] There is division in the party; this division leads to uncertainty. It endangers this party's unity and its ability to act. In order for us to restore this unity and ability to act, an unequivocal, modern, ideopolitical platform is necessary because, possessing this, we will be able raise demands vis-a-vis the membership and every cadre of ours. On the basis of this unequivocal demand our political setting of objectives can be resolute, and our action can be resolute. [end recording]

[Reporter] [passage omitted] In Borsod, the one sided industry and producers' cooperatives that operate in bad conditions are unable to provide satisfactory work for everyone. These were the words of Jozsef Dudla, county first secretary of the Borsod MSZMP Committee. For this reason, many people move away from the county, and the population is becoming older. The first secretary said that the economic structure cannot be transformed [atalakitani] with cutbacks alone. For this reason, a comprehensive program is being prepared to resolve the county's employment problems. He outlined party life according to the new conception.

[Begin Dudla recording] The frameworks and norms of party life cannot be so narrow that they prevent attempts to try every practical solution that resembles principle but that is flexible and, presumably, useful. We hope these will facilitate party committees in no longer resembling bureaucracies but rather centers of political movement, ones that attract many people, where, if necessary, sharp but tasteful debates and comradely exchanges of views take place, and where the necessary political decisions are reached in timely fashion. [end recording]

[Reporter] Geza Kovacs, president of the Szabolcsbaka production cooperative, began his statement with words on economic backwardness and employment problems. But he emphasized that it is not the passing of further resolutions that is necessary.

[Begin Kovacs recording] It is our long standing experience that organizations do not help. For the most part they impede implementation, and do so in no inexpensive manner. A suitable example, perhaps, is that at the moment a child is born, that is during the socialist reogranization of agriculture, when conditions for their operation scarcely existed, only six state organs took part in the midwifery. Now, however, when the child is an adult, 24 state organs and six licensed enterprises hound the agricultural cooperatives, curb fruitful work, and increase their burdens. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Reporter] Ferenc Karvalits, first secretary of the County Zala Party Committee, spoke about the leadership mistakes and accepting responsibility. He agrees that the responsibility for the increasing problems rests heavily not on the miners, the metallurgical workers or the doctors, nor on the party members who (?took part), until recently, in policymaking, but on the leaders. He added: Mistakes were made not only by the Central Committee, but also by the regional party leadership.

[Begin Karvalits recording] We have proven ourselves to be an expressly good partner in virtually fully asserting the mistakes and faults in economic and social policy. We have not harped on this. However, practice indicates to us that the reform outlook has narrowed down to the economic sphere.

In the party, in the system of political institutions, the unchanged preservation of relations runs increasingly counter to the necessary development, to the conditions for development. The impact of our leadership's work has palpably weakened on a social scale, because it has not changed from yesterday to today. In the meantime, no small number of us said as reassurance, often as self justification, that here or there the situation is better than the national one.

If we are unable, at every level of the party, to realistically face the true division of responsibility, to declare resolutely for what, and only for what, the Central Committee is responsible, and if we do not place our own responsibility bravely alongside this, then there is scarcely a chance that we will implement even the best decisions. [end recording]

[Reporter] Andras Gyenes, chairman of the Central Control Committee spoke about party unity, party discipline.

[Begin Gyenes recording] Unity does not come about on its own accord, neither does it do so on command. In general, debate has a decisive role in our reaching unity. Those who believe that debate and unity are things that preclude each other are mistaken. We debate not because it is fitting or fashionable but to exchange our views, to reveal and clarify contradictions, and then, where these are resolved, to create a common platform of action.The party, asserting the principle of majority decisionmaking, has never denied the rights of the minority. It has also regulated these. Those who as a consequence of majority decisionmaking end up in a minority can maintain their standpoint. True, they have to implement the task. The minority, on the basis of its separate opinion, can attain a renewed examination of its standpoint. True, it cannot engage in organizing activity for

the purpose of having its standpoint adopted. It cannot take its standpoint outside the party, for example, in order to attain, with the support of outside circles, a change in the decision, or in order to popularize itself with its separate position.

It is justified that we should carefully consider the opinion of the minority. Neither does it have to be precluded that those who have remained in the minority might reach the point of correcting their standpoint, having again thought it over. There have also been party members who have placed themselves in opposition to the party's policy. They debated the party's affairs in inappropriate circles. Well-intentioned warnings, moreover, even party manifestations did not prove successful. For this reason, they could not remain in our ranks. [end recording]

[Reporter] Mrs (Fejes), nee (Csilla Jenei), student of the Karl Marx University of Economics, spoke about the difficulties of party life at university and the lack of necessary information.

[Begin Jenei recording] We find ourselves confronted daily by divergent political views with which we as communists true to our principles should debate. Well, this is something that we do not always manage to do, because it is difficult to argue on the side of a policy of which we do not clearly know either the intentions or the initiatives, and which does not give a convincing answer to our daily problems. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Reporter] The economic leader of a big enterprise speaks naturally first and foremost about the problems of economic life. Janos Kazsmer, County Fejer delegate and director general of the Videoton Electonics Enterprise, spoke of the narrow room for maneuver which does not spare even the biggest enterprises which are otherwise doing well.

[Begin Kazsmer recording] It happens that the decent and successful work of collectives numbering several thousands is virtually nullified by a single, insufficiently circumspect measure of the directing organs. Such situations cannot and may not be explained by allusion to all-society interest. In the interest of avoiding such situations there should be a possibility for developing real economic political pluralism. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Reporter] We must change in order that we may make changes. This was said by Central Committee Secretary Lenard Pal. He also said that there is a need for new thinking, a new way of seeing, for a more accurate value assessment, for more careful decisions, for more successful actions. The Central Committee secretary, speaking about the policy on the intelligentsia, noted:

[Begin Pal recording] In the work that is socially necessary for the production of assets, intellectual work, which plans, builds up, operates and controls the process of production, has gained crucial significance. The nature of manual work has also altered; in numerous areas it requires a growing level of education, qualification, professional skill. All this means that the importance of intellectual work and the education and professional skill needed for its performance have objectively increased in value. It is a contradiction of our political practice that this increase in value has not taken place in practice. [end recording]

[Reporter] If we look at the example of the developed countries, not only has professional skill increased there, both among the intellectual and manual workers, but so has the role of cultured personalities, able to take initiative, to think independently, to accept risks. Lenard Pal noted that in our country the atmosphere has not been favorable for long for the development of personalities of this type, either in the economy or in politics.

[Begin Pal recording] I consider it important to say that the large majority of the Hungarian intelligentsia, of intellectual workers, in recent decades, even amid the not exactly inspiring conditions, have performed significant work, have enriched our homeland with outstanding scientific, technological and artistic creations. This all the more obliges us to start without delay to improve the conditions for intellectual creative work and to attain a perceptible change. [end recording]

[Reporter] The delay until now has many causes, for instance the uncertainties in recognizing the situation, and the short term outlook in assigning priorities to the tasks. But the most important is the cultural-political strategy.

[Begin Pal recording] We can mark as an important task the elaboration of the party's cultural political concept, which, adopting to the new situation, has to deal with the social role and conditions and institutions of education. In a new concept, it has to determine the main principles relating to the political treatment of the developmental processes of scientific research, and education and the arts, which are interconnected.

[Reporter] Lenard Pal, Central Committee secretary, ended his speech by saying he hopes that the large majority of the Hungarian intelligentsia considers as a national cause the active participation in the work that is to be performed for the country's advance.

[Announcer] At the end of this bulletin, we are returning to the scene of the party conference, where Andras Domany is waiting to report.

[Domany] The 21st speaker in the debate, Istvan Szabo, Szolnok County first secretary, closed the 1st day of the national party conference. During the last hour the speakers included Albert Antaloczy, first secretary of the Komarom County Party Committee, who said among other things that he, as a member of the leadership,

regards himself also as open to blame for the fact that renewal is taking place slowly and with difficulties. After all, everyone wants the economic and social reforms.

Ildiko Letovai, Nograd county PPF Secretary, said that situations like the intention of some twin parishes to separate [as heard] should not give rise to alarm. [passage omitted]

Today's session has ended. The delegates will continue their work tomorrow morning.

Further Report

LD2105005188 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 May 88

[Excerpts] [Presenter] Here now follows our detailed report on the opening day of the MSZMP national conference. We go over to the headquarters of the Journalists' Association, where shortly a news conference by Janos Berecz, Politburo member, Central Committee Secretary, will begin. Foreign and local journalists are taking part.

[Unidentified reporter] Ladies and gentlemen, dear comrades, esteemed guests: Good evening, I greet you in the International Press Center of the party conference. Let me say, to inform Hungarian Television Viewers, that 221 journalists from 30 countries have been accredited to the party conference. I greet in our midst Janos Berecz, MSZMP Politburo member, Central Committee secretary, who will give a briefing on the first day of the party conference. I hand over to Janos Berecz:

[Berecz] Dear Comrades, friends, ladies and gentlemen: as you know at 1000 today the MSZMP National Conference started work. The main task of the conference is to adopt the program expressed in the standpoint; the other is to elect to the head of the party leading organs that are suited to lead and to direct the realization of this standpoint, so we will be able to report on its fulfilment to the 14th Congress.

Janos Kadar, our party's general secretary, made a proposing, introductory speech to the first point on the agenda, to the standpoint. For that reason it was short and touched on a few issues. If I were to describe this speech briefly I would use four words: Turning poiont, reform, renewal. A turning poiont [fordulat] in society's performance, in society's activity; a turning point in every field of our social life. Reform, which guarantees this turning—that is it formulates in a program-like way the demands of this turning for every field, and I stress not only for the economic field, but first and foremost for the political institutions and the social organizations connected with this—law-making and legislation, administrative work.

The fourth word is renewal. Renewal now means for us that we are able to realize such big demands in a difficult situation, in a society preoccupied with complex, complicated, issues. This requires the total renewal of party work. This requires that the party should arrive at new conclusions not only in content, but also in its working style and its working method; to put it briefly, instead of administrative activity, performing administrative work, it should influence society by principled, political, and movement means. It should have an effect on the various institutions, in the interest of our being able to continue building socialist society.

The other characteristic of this day is that the 21 speakers made a very multi colored picture. A multi colored picture in tone, in formulation, in epithets, in situation assessment, and a good many times in conclusions. From what do these many colors derive? Naturally, first and foremost from our reality. But why do the delegates or the speakers reflect these many colors? Dezsoe Keresztury, writer, academician, honored the conference and asked to speak. He stressed that he is nearly as old as this century; he has already lived through three crises, and the wonderful feeling when the Hungarian people had the strength to emerge [Kibontakozni] from these crises. Naturally, his experiences sounded different at the conference from those of the economics university student, who became an active politician and has taken part in part work in the past 4-5 years. The experiences of these 3-4 years are more crowded and not always optimistic for her.

So, the two extremes I mentioned: Dezsoe Keresztury embraces a century and builds on his experience; while a fresh party member, a female university student, formulates the hard burdens of 3-4 years.

But of what is unity born? Unity can be born only if we pay attention to the various strata, the various age groups, the various experiences, the divergent proposals, which one will then be able to summarize and which will point a way, in a standpoint, not only for the party but also for society, in the interest of the resurgence [Kibontakozas] and of achieving further progress. That is how I could briefly summarize the characteristics of this day. [passage omitted]

[Presenter] Let us now take a more detailed look. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified reporter] In the debate following the speech Janos Kadar, the first speaker was Ferenc Havasi, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Budapest Party Committee. [passage omitted]

[Begin Havasi recording] It appears incomprehensible how a party which was renewed in the difficult hours of a national catastrophy, which history had already called to account, and which had to draw historical conclusions then, and which during its 3 decades of activity has created something of lasting value even in international

terms, things new in the history of socialism, got in this critical situation again. It is from Hungary that the slogan "He who is not against us is with us" spread to the world; and now we are troubled [zavarban vagyunk] by the dissenters of today, by the challenges of the present alliance policy. It is here that the battles to reform the economic mechanism were fought for the first time 20 years ago but we have to this day been unable to achieve victory. We are slowly losing our positional advantage, the advantage given by the fact that we were a step ahead.

We are facing decisions of great importance. Obviously the spectacle of our internal situation and the real processes, as well as the falling to pieces of the old image of socialism, and the Stalinist system of tenets, plus the economic prosperity of the advanced capitalist countries play a part in causing our mood. The reality of these cannot be denied, but it is still impossible to identify with the thinking which ignores the achievements of the Hungarian People's Republic, its seeking of its path and our endeavours for renewal, which are followed internationally with sympathy and even recognition. [passage omitted]

There is a need for real democratization within the party. We must satisfy the justified demand that the party can identify itself with a policy only if it not merely executes it, but also initiates it. Through the development of democracy within the party, we must see to it that the executive organs elected by and subordinate to the Central Committee and the party committees are not able to restrict the scope of activity and authority of these bodies. The movement character of the party work must be strengthened. Its bureaucratic and formalistic features must be eliminated. It is our conviction that only a party with examplary internal order and operational principles can be a national integrator which will strengthen and consolidate the social consensus, which today has weakened.

The communists of Budapest support an unfolding and renewal of such a spirit. It is not yet too late. We can move toward such a goal with good chances. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Reporter] In the view of Csaba Hamori, rapid change cannot be expected. The problems of the young are not only their problems, but those of the entire society.

[Begin Hamori recording] It is unrealistic to expect a quick change of these processes because a responsible policy cannot make great promises for the coming years. I know it is impossible to give a separate youth answer to these problems. It cannot be done because that would not fit the reform process and because these are not only the problems for the young. [passage omitted]

We will not get anywhere with cautious, indecisive steps, with the approach of continuing to roll the problems in front of us. We would not like a society that serves separately the interests of the young but one which is future oriented. For this there is a need to strengthen the value of knowledge, work, achievement, and entrepreneurial readiness. Action must be taken today to develop for the long term higher education and apartment management. The rules of the game, which enhance the effectiveness of social debates, must be created and learned. There is a need, instead of dictums, for compromises. I believe that this is in harmony with the modernization of the system of political institutions because it is primarily the decisive, independent face of social organizations and their open interest representation that can provide an answer to the dilemma as to how it is possible, within the circumstances of our one party system, to minimize the risk of mistakes; how it is possible to materialize socialist political pluralism.

Esteemed Party Conference. My experience is that a decisive majority of the young is seeking even today a socialist answer to the challenges of our times. They want to most seriously materialize all those things the party advocates; the rise of the people, the nation, the respect of the homeland, an efficient economy, democracy and social justice. But since they do not regularly experience these in reality—understandably they measure, in accordance with learned principles, the visible possibilities, by European standards, not the road already covered—it is precisely the younger part of the nation that observes most criticially Hungarian society today and its leading force, our party.

Such a party is attractive for the young, which carries out a dynamic policy, whose organs, too, are making politics, which is a movement, not only a totality of organizations. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Reporter] Sandor Gaspar, member of the Politburo, chairman of the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT], spoke about the misinterpretation of the leading role of the party and the mistakes, the source of which was that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party had taken on too much. Political work among the masses had weakened, the party had to become better acquainted with the intentions and worries of the masses and had to take them into consideration to a greater extent.

[Begin Gaspar recording] The direct impact of the implementation of the program of economic-social unfolding do, for a time, place a burden on and compel the population to make sacrifices. The more favorable consequences will make their impact felt only later. We all know that society's capacity to tolerate has limits. Therefore, we must take into account the material, ideological, and political effect of the unfolding process. The appearance of the tax system, the employment problems, the private and foreign capital, the large scale inflation test, the thinking and political faith of people, too. In addition to outlining the resurgence strategy we must determine even for the years facing us directly, such economic aims that moderate economic behavior that limits consumption and withholds growth. Let us devote great

energy to rejuvenating the economy, not just holding it back. The two must be handled together. The majority of workers are willing to accept temporary difficulties. On the other hand, there are hundreds of thousands who find it difficult to bear the increased burdens. It is our duty to help them, primarily those on small pensions, young people beginning their careers, those with large families, and also other categories.

We regard the modernization of the pension system as important, but we believe that this will have to be postponed to a later date. On the other hand, improving the situation of those living on small pensions cannot be postponed any longer, whether within the framework of the existing pension system or through social policy measures.

Even before a comprehensive change can occur in housing policy, at least two tasks must be accomplished. Once again, let us not wait for a perfect, comprehensive, great reform. One of the tasks that has to be accomplished—and there is already an effort and a plan for this—is to ensure a system that will favor those getting their first housing which is in line with the price of apartments and the incomes of those at the beginning of their careers. Let us not try to achieve a complete solution: Let us grant speedy aid in this area, because there is a need for it here.

Second, it is necessary to examine the reasons—several studies have been carried out on it—for the rise in prices of housing, which has become almost unbearable. This is also something that must be examined.

The trade unions were among those who initiated the wage reform. This must result in the workers being able to live decently on wages earned during the legal working hours. Let us be careful in this area as well not raise illusions. This is a task that can be accomplished only over a longer period.

It is understandable that the trade unions devote great attention to prices. They want to ensure that price increases this year do not exceed the limit proclaimed in the government's program. If that happens—we have already had exchanges of views, and even an agreement, with the government—the trade unions will demand compensation. The ways to do this will have to be examined.

Dear comrades, the trade unions must now also face up to this question: What is the role, the function, and the calling of the trade union movement under socialism? The trade unions must strengthen their partnership with the party based on principled foundations.

On the one hand, they must recognize the leading role of the party and increase its political effect; on the other hand, they must increase the scope for maneuver enjoyed by the trade unions, ensuring full independence and responsibility.

Relations with the government and state organs must also be developed on a principled basis. It is a partnership based on equality and dependence on each other which is in line with the interests of social development. Society demands that the country has a government which is capable of action, which is strong and decisive. Governmental work is developing in this direction; this is very good, very welcome. But let no one take umbrage if the trade union movement also wants to represent and manifest its own position firmly and consistently, because only in this way can trade union work become credible and gain the support of the masses. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Central Committee Secretary Lenard Pal dealt with one of the basic areas of the policy on the intelligentsia, the social role of intellectual work, its (?local) value).

[Begin Pal recording] It is well known that the role and significance of manual and intellectual work, their relations to one another, have to a large extent changed over the last 50 years in the production of social assets, mainly as a consequence of scientific-technological progress. In the work that is socially necessary for the production of assets, intellectual work—which plans, builds up, operates, and controls the production process—has gained determining significance. The nature of manual work has also altered; in numerous areas it requires a growing level of education, qualifications, and professional skill. All this means that the importance of intellectual work and the education and professional skill needed for its performance have objectively increased in value.

It is a contradiction of our political practice that this increase in value has not taken place in practice. Everywhere today the cultured personality— the one able to take initiative, to think independently, the one capable of innovation cooperation, and taking risks—comes to the forefront. I have to recognize that the domestic social atmosphere has for a long time not favored this type of person, either in the economy or in politics.

Although the situation is better today, there is a large degree of backwardness and we have to make up for many things missed.

I believe it is important to say that the majority of the Hungarian intelligentsia, of intellectual workers, in recent decades, even amid the not exactly inspiring conditions, has performed significant work, has enriched our homeland with outstanding scientific, technological, and artistic creations. This all the more obliges us to start without delay to improve conditions for intellectual creative work, to attain a perceptible change.

However, the renewal of our policy on the intelligentsia will have to achieve not only the political, moral, and material appreciation of creative intellectual work, but it will have to go along with a comprehensive reform of

cultural policy, including in this the renewal of a systemic approach in education policy, science policy, in the policies on public education and the arts.

It will assist the renewal of the party's policy on the intelligentsia, the elaboration of the new cultural policy concept, if intellectual workers, the intelligentsia, who undertake an active role in shaping and representing the party's policy, who show outstanding achievements, are also given a place, in appropriate proportion, on the newly elected Central Committee. [end recording] [passage omitted]

MSZMP Conference Continues 21 May

Second Day Begins

LD2105072088 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 21 May 88

[Excerpt] In Budapest, the consultation on the second day of the MSZMP national conference is now beginning. The participants are continuing the debate on the draft standpoint on the party's tasks and the development of the system of political institutions. [passage omitted]

Conference Elects Committees

LD2105082288 Budapest MTI in English 0748 GMT 21 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 21 (MTI)—The national party conference elected its work committees, the Secretariat, the Editing Committee, the Nominating Committee and the Returning Committee.

The Secretariat of the party conference is headed by Istvan Petrovszki and includes Bela Kovacs, Erno Lakatos, Imre Somogyi and Karoly Szabo.

The Editing Committee is headed by Janos Berecz and includes Albert Antaloczy, Alajos Barta, Mrs Oszkar Barts, Valeria Benka, Gabor Brobely, Istvan Hajdu, Istvan Huszar, Peter Juhasz, Dr Ferenc Karvalits, Istvan Katona, Imre Klenovics, Laszlo Lakatos, Sandor Lakos, Miklos Ovari, Dr Sandor Postas, Miklos Szabo and Gyula Varga.

The Nominating Committee is headed by Janos Lukacs and includes Dr Agnes Alpari, Tibor Baranyai, Pal Bertus, Laszlo Boldvai, Laszlo Boros, Robert Burgert, Dr Zoltan Daroczi, Pal Danyi, Jozsef Dudla, Mrs Andre Erdos, Jozsef Fenyvesi, Andras Gyenes, Bela Gyorgyi, Dr Gyorgy Illei, Pal Ivanyi, Mihaly Jasso, Bela Katona, Gyula Kallai, Janos Kazsmer, Gabor Koltay, Dr Geza Kovacs, Lajos Krasznai, Dr Matild Lovasz, Peter Szigfrid, Mrs Sandor Rajki, Ferenc Somogyi, Mrs Suhajda Nee Ibolya Csugany, Imre Suto, Miklos Szabo, Janos Szekely, Mrs Imre Takacs, Pel Tetenyi, Laszlo Varga and Jozsef Veres.

The returning Committee is headed by Laszlo Gyuricza and includes Csaba Balint, Istvan Derfalvi, Andras Fabriczky, Mrs Fodor nee Katalin Birges, Jozsef Hajdics, Miklos Horvath, Ildiko Letovai, Mrs Janos Menyhart, Istvan Nemeth, Gyorgy Papp, Sandor Szabo, Eniko Szucs, Jozsef Tarrosi and Istvan Varga.

Grosz Addresses Conference

LD2105091388 Budapest MTI in English 0855 GMT 21 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 21 (MTI)—In his contribution Karoly Grosz, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, termed the consolidation of power as the most important task. The first and foremost condition in this respect is the renewal of the party. He said, "according to many, the one-party system has not proved viable, and they see justification in the current problems. They say there should be more parties, but they do not reckon with the fact that this is not a matter of decision, but conditional on the real social possibilities. I am convinced that there is need for the party what it was in the beginning and what it could be if cleared of fixed ideological prejudices, if assumes a higher degree of democratism and discipline and breaks with the ties of inflexible working style [sentence as received]. With this accomplished, the HSWP will be able by itself, together with its burdens, to fulfil its leading role and enforce the politically practical advantages of the multi-party system which undoubtedly exist."[sentence as received]

Karoly Grosz pointed out that besides the renewal of the party, it is necessary to precisely define the tasks of the government. The required government is sensitive to the daily questions of reality, ready to take risks and assume responsibility. It does not avoid conflicts if demanded by future interests and relies on personal sense of responsiblity. The government guarantees democracy, which means that is acts in the interests of the majority and, in turn, stands opposed to the minority. At the same time, it takes minority views into consideration and intends to patiently cooperate with all who profess views which serve the benefit of socialism but are contrary to the government's position.

In his contribution Prime Minister Karoly Grosz, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party, stated that he agrees with the draft policy statement, though it could be richer in thought and worded more accurately. However, it is important that it does not regulate issues of detail, but marks out the main direction of the endeavours of a policy-making party.

He said that the economic and political situation is extremely complex. For instance, the economy has for years been ridden with the pressing burden of increasing debts, but there also are honourable efforts. On one side

is a stagnating living standard, and on the other palpable growing well-being. Therefore, both the results and mistakes have to be taken into account.

Some of the negative phenomena cannot be attributed to earlier erroneous decisions. The difficulties that are concomitant of development and restructuring should not be mixed up with conceptional errors of stragegic importance committed by leaders. "Naturally, I do not deny our responsibility for a major proportion of the current problems."

Regarding the causes behind the present situation, Karoly Grosz stated, "We have put up with our yesterday's success." Labour discipline, social and individual self-control have loosened, subjectivism has gained ground and the sense of infallibility strengthened in some people. "We have been gravely mistaken in a few major issues of economic character, where I myself, too, feel responsible, because since 1980, as member of the Central Committee and delegate to the 13th Congress, I gave my vote also for decisions that failed to prove correct in practice. Naturally, I have to accept the related political consequences."

According to Karoly Grosz, the need for substantive changes was realized first by the party membership and then by the leadership. The effects of this realization were different. The number of those accusing others for the situation and forgetting about their own responsibility, has increased, but more and more people have set down to work and it is they who now constitute the strength of the party.

"The most important task is the consolidation of power. The first and foremost condition in this respect is the renewal of the party. According to many, the one-party system has not proved viable, and they see justification in the current problems. They say there should be more parties, but they do not reckon with the fact that this is not a matter of decision, but conditional on the real social possibilities. Today's one-party system is an unmistakable manifestation and historically formed result of popular endeavours. I am convinced that there is need for a party which gets rid of fixed ideological prejudices." Grosz said this party should be marked by a higher degree of democratism and discipline, it should break with the practice of secretiveness, self-isolation and inflexible working style. Such a HSWP will be able by itself to fulfil its leading role and enforce the politically practical advantages of the multi-party system which undoubtedly exist.

Karoly Grosz pointed out, "While condemning our daily weaknesses, we should not deny the values of the past, because a political movement which fails to appreciate its past becomes rootless and remains insecure also in the future."

He said, "The government is dually subordinated. It is maximally committed for the policy of the party, while it also feels responsible toward the National Assembly. So the government is not independent but autonomous, because this is how it can only work effectively with responsibility."

Cooperation and continuous dialogue with the social organizations is an important element of the renewable working style of the government. The growing number of disputes in this field is also natural. "Consequently, we cannot promise anybody cooperation without debate. The fact that the interest organizations express their demands does not alter reality and, more important, the possibilities. Nobody should have illusions: The accomplished tasks will give rise to further conflicts. It is also clear that on every issue concerning future progress, the government might temporarily come into conflict with certain groups of society, whose direct daily interests are violated."

In this context, Karoly Grosz said with reference to the contributions of the previous day, "we cannot guarantee the security of the working collective that will not be successful."

"We have the task to precisely define the functions of the government. "In our view, there is need for a government which effectively handles questions of production and distribution, dares to take risk and responsiblity and is ready to face the unavoidable conflicts. [quotation marks as received]

"What does the government guarnatee? It gurantees democracy and the promotion of majority interests. It takes minority views into consideration and intends to cooperate with all who profess views which serve the benefit of socialism but are contrary to the government's position.

"The government wants to create conditions, under which the principle of performance can be enforced. It gurantees humanism and legality, while strictly meeting its constitutional obligations in the defence of socialist society."

One of the contributors said that honest work should be set as a standard. Grosz finds it insufficent, saying that the standard can only be profitable, useful and honest work.

"Nor in the future does the government want to undertake the organization of human relations, because it intends to withdraw from all areas where the lack of intervention is more reasonable and more natural.

"We have a well-considered programme, and know what we want to do and how. Our conduct is predictable. Those who want to help can find ample opportunity for this."

In conclusion, Karoly Grosz stressed, "We are discussing our affairs for three days. However, the issue is not ourselves but the rise of the nation. I am also convinced that these years the fate of not only the Hungarian people but also of the socialist world will be decided for a longer period ahead. For this reason successes, if in lesser measure, produce an impact on the renewal under way in the entire socialist system, and possible failure would strengthen the positions of conservative forces opposed to the progressive endeavours of socialism. Our responsibility, therefore, has increased immensely. I believe that we will not disappoint either the Hungarian people or our friends living beyond the borders.

Grosz Views Draft Standpoint

LD2105105288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 21 May 88

[Text] The MSZMP national conference has resumed its work in Budapest. Attila Balint reports.

[Balint] Good morning, dear listeners, from the Congress Hall, where in the debate of the national party conference, Mrs Erzsebet Seres Devay, head of department at the Kaposvar milk industry enterprise, is speaking at this moment.

In this morning's debate, at precisely 0900, Premier Karoly Grosz, member of the Politburo, raised the question: Does the draft standpoint provide anything new; is it sufficient for a work program? In his view the answer is yes. However, he did not deny that it could be richer in ideas and could be formulated with greater precision. We cannot say other than as things are: Let us not mix up the difficulties accompanying change with conceptual, strategic mistakes by leaders, he pointed out.

[Begin Grosz recording] Can we answer the question: How did we get to this situation? I think we can. We already know a great deal of the causes, though naturally not everything yet. However, we do know enough to make a start on changing the situation in a substantive way.

We became content with our successes of yesterday; we made ourselves believe that with our innovations we were creating a perfect work. Work discipline, social and individual self-discipline became lax. In economic management, in intellectual life, in personnel work, subjectivism gained ground, and in public life a new formalism spread. In certain people and in certain institutions the feeling of infallibility gathered strength.

We made serious mistakes on certain major economic issues. In this I find myself responsible as well: After all, since 1980, as a member of the Central Committee and a delegate to the 13th Congress, I gave my vote to decisions which life has not validated in retrospect. I regard it as natural that I have to accept the political consequences for this.

This situation developed gradually and over a long period of time, and if it remains so, it could move into a stage of a new quality, whose consequences would be tragic.

First the party membership and then the leadership recognized relatively quickly that substantive changes were needed. This recognition had different effects. There are those who have become uncertain; the number of those who first and foremost blame others for the situation that has developed, who point in all directions, forgetting their own responsibility, has increased rapidly. But more and more people have got down to work. They form the party's strength today. [end recording]

[Balint] Karoly Grosz, agreeing with Janos Kadar, pointed out: The power must be strengthened. The most important condition for this is the renewal of our party. According to his conviction, one party is needed; more precisely, there is need for a party—the type of alliance in struggle that it started out as being, and as it can be if it sheds the encrusted ideological prejudices, if democratism and discipline gain strength inside it, and if it breaks with the constraints which have resulted from secrecy, inward-turning, and isolation, Karoly Grosz said.

Premier Karoly Grosz then spoke about the government's tasks.

[Begin Grosz recording] Alongside renewing the party, our task is to designate precisely the place of the state, and in this, the role of government. In our judgment, it is necessary to have a government which is sensitive to the daily issues of reality; which deals effectively with the issues of production and distribution that pertain to it; one which dares to accept risks, and at the same time accept responsibility; one which, in the interest of the future, does not sidestep unavoidable conflicts; one which builds on the individual's sense of responsibility. In the relationship of continuity and renewal, it is a government which places emphasis on well-weighed renewal; is ripe for decisionmaking; is exacting vis-a-vis its own work and that of others.

What does the government guarantee? Democracy; that it acts in the interest of the majority; and to this extent it also places itself in opposition to the existing minority in the conviction that the assertion of every just right can be guaranteed in all of society via compromise. It observes minority opinions, and with patience it wishes to cooperate with all those who profess opinions in the interest of socialism, but opinions which diverge from the standpoint of the government. [end Grosz recording]

[Balint] The government, in all issues affecting the future, affecting progress, can temporarily, even regularly, find itself in opposition to every social stratum, and more than once it does so because it offends their immediate, daily interests. Today, not only does it have to face diverging interests, but also the habits existing in

common thought, which oppose our endeavors. Yesterday, engaging in polemics with many speakers, the premier also gave examples. We have a sound program; we know what we want to do, and how. Our conduct is predictable; he who wants to help finds abundant opportunity to do so, Karoly Grosz said.

Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee, received leave to speak not long ago. As he said, one of the preeminent tasks of Hungarian foreign policy is to convey credibly our internal renewal to the outside world. Therefore, today, there are two indispensible domestic conditions for successful foreign policy activity: the maintenance of stability, and the transformation of the obsolete political and economic structures.

In connection with the Hungarian-Romanian tension, Matyas Szuros expounded that the future facing the Magyars living in Romania justifiably causes anxiety to the public. We also are aware that resettlement cannot solve the problems of a community of 2 million. This tension can be solved on the basis of civilized international norms, on the basis of the principles of the sovereignty of the nations.

The debate continues.

Berecz Wraps Up Second Day

LD2105222788 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 May 88

[Excerpts] We now go to the Journalists Association headquarters where Janos Berecz is holding a news conference with Hungarian and foreign journalists.

[Unidentified reporter] Good evening, on the evening of the 2d working day of the national party conference, I greet the Hungarian television viewers and the very esteemed representatives of the Hungarian and foreign media.

Today, too, Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Politburo and Central Committee secretary, will summarize the events of the day.

[Berecz] Dear comrades, friends, ladies, and gentlemen. The national party conference has concluded its debate on the draft standpoint. Forty-nine delegates and one guest were allowed to speak from the tribune of the national conference about their opinions, proposals, and the standpoint.

In addition, we received 195 written contributions, the processing of which is under way even at this moment, and will last, in all probability, until tomorrow morning.

I repeat with joy the four words I said yesterday: turning point, reform, renewal. I repeat them with joy because yesterday I referred to the fact that the speech given by the general secretary was built on these four words. I can now safely say that the contributions reinforced these four words, varying people emphasizing this or that word, but the whole debate was in harmony with these four words.

The debate livened up today. Not only were there opposing opinions, but some contributions referred to other opinions, too, either as a supplement, or in the form of disagreement. There was not only criticism, which became stronger, but also self-criticism. I say with joy that it was not only on the side, or the part, of the high leadership, but from mid-level leaders. Even base organization secretaries practised some self-criticism.

One delegate's opinion reminded me that responsibility must be sought out, it must be called by name. But in the coruse of any search for responsibility, the true strength of the party lies in every member ascertaining his individual responsibility, even if it is very small, or because change starts from the point when every organization and every party member, in his own spehre, serves the turning point, the reform, the renewal.

Other phrases that occurred frequently are the readiness to act and the willingness to act. It is now a general catchphrase that every word is worth as much as it is underpinned by actions. The main measure of the standpoint will be to determine what kind of practical actions will follow it.

One of the contributors said that the strength and effectiveness of the readiness to act depends on knowledge, on will, and on good leaders. As far as knowledge goes, we now know something as a consequence of the conference. As for willing, we have the will, according to the contributors. The election of good leaders has been left until tomorrow, so tomorrow evening we can speak, about this, too.

The expression "unity" featured rather frequently, too. It can be said once again that this was dealt with from the Central Committee secretary to the secretaries of basic organizations, for one party member cannot achieve much alone. And if the party organizations are isolated from each other, and there is no internal solidarity, agreement on the main questions, then there is no consistent action either. But this unity cannot be that of yesterday. Silent acquiescence cannot be built upon; the discipline of forbearance cannot be built upon. Unity today can be realized in debate, by competing views, by decision; and after the decision is made, by having respect and tolerance for the minority view, and then by joint action. And I add, unity is also needed because we constantly consider the national unity of the Hungarian people—the realization once again of a consensus—to be a key question.

Consensus, too, will have a different aspect from yesterday. It is not a spontaneous endeavor or gathering around the right policy; it is not the agreement of personalities, but a system of institutions built on the

expression of interests—whether it be institutions created at the spontaneous initiative of the population or the restructuring of the existing institutions—it is the alliance, harmony, and cooperation of interests being expressed in these institutions.

As for why we consider this very important, let me read a telegram—I did not ask the permission of the sender, but I hope she will not mind, for she sent it to me personally, so probably she will not be cross that I am not keeping it secret: I ask the Good Lord's blessing on the participants of the national conference, that they will make resolutions that are good and just for all society, and after that, that the Central Committee will have the strength to call for implementation, for only thus will there be a resurgence. With great respect, Mrs Gyoergy Kendernay.

I was touched by this because it shows that the broad masses of the Hungarian nation consider that their fate is influenced, to a significant degree, by the decisions of the party conference.

One of the delegates finished by saying: We have brought together great moral and political capital in 2 days. Let us have the strength to turn this moral and political capital into practical actions. This is what we are striving for.

[Reporter] At the morning session of the 2d day of the MSZMP national conference, Premier Karoly Grosz, Politburo member, was the first to speak.

[Begin Grosz recording] In yesterday's debate, there was much talk about the political situation. I do not want to repeat it, to enrich it with some detailed experiences, but in essence I agree with its basic qualification. However, I would like to add the following: the determination of classical truth originates from Aristotle. He who considers those belonging together to belong together, and who considers those who are separate to be separate, speaks the truth. He who speaks contrary to reality is in error.

Therefore, the requirement is clear: We cannot speak contrary to reality. The economic and political situation is very complex. For years the oppressive burden of the growing debts' stock has been present. At the same time, we have witnessed efforts that command respect, directed at stepping up the results of industry, agriculture, and trade, and at better and more effective work. World-quality products in one plant, poor-quality goods in an other, sometimes both in the same factory; a stagnating standard of living on the one hand, visibly growing prosperity on the other—I could continue in this manner.

Therefore, in the spirit of what has been quoted, results and mistakes must be identically taken into account. Here now, understandably, it is the mistakes, not the reality, which are being discussed.

I would also like to say here that some of these negative phenomena cannot be attributed to earlier mistaken decisions. We should not mix the difficulties, distortions, and unpredictable consequences accompanying development and restructuring with conceptual, strategic mistakes by leaders.

Naturally, I am not disputing the statement, which has also been formulated in writing, that a large number of our current problems are our own fault.

Can we answer the question: How did we get into this situation? I think we can. We already know a great deal about the causes, though naturally not everything yet. However, we do know enough to start changing the situation in a substantive way.

We became content with yesterday's successes. We made ourselves believe that with our innovations we were creating perfect work. Work discipline, social and individual self-discipline, became lax. In economic management, in intellectual life, in personnel work, subjectivism gained ground and in public life a new formalism spread. In certain people and in certain institutions, the feeling of infallibility gained strength.

We made serious mistakes on certain big economic issues. In this I find myself responsible as well: After all, since 1980, as a member of the Central committee and a delegate to the 13th congress, I voted in favor of decisions which, in retrospect, life has not validated. I regard it natural that I have to accept the political consequences for this.

This situation developed gradually and over a longer period of time. If it remains so, it could move into a new qualitative stage, whose consequences will be tragic.

First the party membership and then the leadership recognized relatively quickly that substantive changes were needed. The recognition had varying effects. There are those who have become uncertain. A number blame others first and foremost for the situation that has developed and point in all directions, forgetting their own responsibility. In addition, this number has increased rapidly. But more and more people have gotten down to work. They form the party's strength today.

What must we do? I agree with Comrade Kadar that the most pressing task is that the power must be strengthened. The most important condition of this is the renewal of our party. According to many people, the one-party system has not stood the test, and they believe that this is proved by the current problems. Therefore, they say that there should be several parties. They do not see that this is not an issue of merely resolving to do this, but it depends on real social possibilities. The current one-party system is the unequivocal expression, the historical result of the people's efforts. It is an organization that was created from the outset by the abundance

of movements unfolding in turbulent class struggle. My conviction, therefore, is that one party is needed, more correctly, the one party [Grosz emphasizes the word "party"] is needed, the type of alliance in struggle that it started out as and that it can be again if it sheds the encrusted ideological prejudices, if democracy and discipline gain strength inside it, and if it breaks the constraints that have resulted from the rigidity of a secretive, introspective, isolated work style. If this is the case, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party will be able alone, with its burdens, to fulfill its leading role, to assert the politically practical advantages of a multiparty system, which undoubtedly exist.

There is a situation now in which every inhabitant of our country who wants socialism, every notable political and social force—and not just the party membership—has a direct interest in the renewal of the party, in its expedient and modern reform. Having renewed itself, it is the party that possesses the most experience and possibility to put all of society into motion.

The sad examples of the recent past in the socialist world demonstrate that where the party is paralyzed, all of society is paralyzed, from which no one can gain but everyone can lose. This common interest is a guarantee that a resurgence is possible.

When with intensified passion we decry our daily weaknesses, we cannot deny the values of the past, because it is my conviction that a political movement that does not appreciate its past struggle becomes rootless and its future also becomes uncertain.

Along with renewing the party, our task is to designate precisely the place of the state and the role of government in it. In our judgment, we need a government that is sensitive to the real daily issues, and that deals effectively with the relevant production and distribution issues. We need a party that dares to accept risks, and at the same time is responsible; which, in the interest of the future, does not sidestep unavoidable conflicts; and which builds on the individual's sense of responsibility. In the relationship of continuity and renewal, it should emphasize a well-thought-out renewal and be ripe for decisionmaking. It should be exacting toward its own work and that of others.

What does the government guarantee? Democracy, that it acts in the interest of the majority, and to this extent, that it opposes the existing minority, in the conviction that the assertion of every just right of every strata can be guaranteed in society via compromise. It observes the minority opinions, and with patience it wishes to cooperate with all those who profess opinions in the interest of socialism, but which diverge from the government standpoint.

It endeavors to secure an equality of opportunity for every force that wants to create, to do something useful. It guarantees the development of individuals with independent faces, who are not absorbed tracelessly into the collectives, but who, with their individuality, their talent, their different character, strengthen the community and are strengthened.

The government wants to shape relations amid which the performance principle is asserted. By virtue of this, it has a human outlook in the fairest manner. It guarantees humanism and legality. At the same time, in the interests of defending socialist society, it resolutely fulfills its constitutional obligations. It represents the national interests, and it wishes to remain an active participant in the struggle for progress and for peace.

The government functions in dual subordination: It is committed to the maximum to the party policy, because the party acts in the service of the people. At the same time, the government feels itself to be responsible to the National Assembly, because the Parliament is the embodiment of the people's will. Therefore, the government is not independent [fueggetlen] but autonomous [oenallo], because only in this manner is it able to work effectively and responsibly.

An important element of the government's renewal work style is cooperation, a continuous dialogue with the social organizations. In this sphere, we consider an increase in the number of debates, of conflicts, as natural. It follows from this that we cannot promise anyone cooperation without debate. The fact that the interest representation organizations express their demands does not alter reality, and mainly, the possibilities. No one should have illusions: The accomplished tasks will bring further conflicts to the surface.

We are clearly aware that in every issue affecting our future and progress, the government may find itself temporarily, as a regular development, in opposition to some social stratum, and more than once, because it offends their immediate, daily interests.

Now, however, not only does it have to encounter diverging interests, but also the conventions that exist in common thought, that oppose our endeavors. Without offending anyone, allow me, for the sake of example, to quote some sentences from the contributions yesterday.

Comrade Panker, in his fine and frank contribution, formulated, on behalf of his colleagues, the question, I quote: What will become of a socialism in which diligently working workers' collectives can be devalued and end up in uncertain situations? My answer: This will be a socialism that functions well and effectively. We cannot guarantee the security of a workers' collective that is not successful. That there are only this many uncertain

workers' collectives at present can be attributed to the fact that we pay back as production subsidies more than 200 billion forints of the roughly 560 billion forints paid in annually as net profit.

Comrade Katalin Bleier said the measure of value should be honest work. That is too little. Only profitable work that reaps gains can be the measure of value. The market pays the use value, and not, primarily, the value of the workers' integrity.

We have been encouraged to be bold and this pleases me. We need this encouragement. However, experience teaches us there is a distinction between boldness and blindness. We are not blind. Every bold decision we make has an effect. Everyone expects to get something from our brave measures; everyone expects his situation will improve. That is impossible. With boldness, resoluteness, we want order, not chaos. That can only be achieved gradually.

In the future, the government does not want to take on itself the organization of human relations, the unfolding of social self-directed activity. This is not becuase there is nothing to be improved in this sphere, but because the government wants to withdraw from every sphere where it is more justified and more natural if things happen without it.

We have a program that has been thought through. We know what we want to do and how. Our conduct is predictable. Someone who wants to help will find abundant opportunity to do so.

In every situation there is a solution, we could say, on the basis of our historical experiences. The question is not whether or not we can act, but what must be done and what is worthwhile do. Naturally, the result has a price. That is why it is necessary to pay, but inactivity would be incomparably more expensive.

In this hall, our attention was once drawn to the significance of time. This thought has never been more topical than today. Time is a value. It is our own opportunity for action, which we either use or squander. Attila Jozsef [early 20th century Hungarian poet] wrote: We brought time with ourselves. Time does not work for anyone, it only creates possibilities. According to Marx, every economic operation worth anything is a management of time. Therefore, let us manage it effectively, but not rashly, because there is a large inclination now for acting in a fluster, which can lead to the same thing as becoming complacent.

I would also like to emphasize here that political activity of the highest standard, the most professional government direction, cannot replace human creative work, diligence, talent, and culture.

Esteemed comrades, we have been conferring with ourselves for 3 days, and not for us but for the ascendancy of the nation. At the same time, I believe that now, in these years, the fate of not only the Hungarian people, but also of the socialist world will be decided for a longer period. For this reason, our successes, even if on a smaller scale, have an impact on the renewal that is under way in the entire socialist system. Our possible failure would strengthen the position of the conservative forces opposed to the progressive efforts of socialism. Therefore, our responsibility has increased immensely. I believe that neither the Hungarian people nor our friends who live beyond our borders will be disappointed in us. I thank you for your attention. [applause] [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Reporter] With this we come to the end of our report on today's proceedings. The party conference will reassemble at 0900 tomorrow morning to listen to Janos Kadar's closing speech.

Tomorrow a closed session will be held to elect the new Central Committee and Central Control committee. We will report in a live relay tomorrow evening at 1900 [1700 GMT] on who will be filling the most important party functions.

I would also like to say that NEPSZABADSAG will publish a special edition tomorrow. This issue of the paper, which you are now seeing the front page of, and which has just been readied, will be received by subscribers free of charge. That is all for today. Thank you for your attention. Good-bye.

MSZMP Conference Concludes 22 May

LD2205074988 Budapest MTI in English
0735 GMT 22 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—Sunday morning the national conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party continued in Budapest with a summary of the debate over the draft policy statement on the tasks of the party and the development of the system of political institutions.

Current president of the session Csaba Hamori, member of the HSWP Political Committee and the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary, requested HSWP General Secretary Janos Kadar to present his summary.

The national party conference is scheduled to end in Budapest late Sunday evening with the adoption of the policy statement on the tasks of the party and the development of the system of political institutions, as well as the election of the members, leading bodies and officials of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee.

TV Carries Berecz Address

LD2205173588 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 22 May 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Good day. You are watching the afternoon roundup of the third day of the party conference. [passage omitted]

The task of the conference was to decide on the party's current tasks and on the development of the system of political institutions. The draft standpoint was broadly debated before the conference. For the preparation of the final text, the drafting committee received several hundred proposals for various changes, supplements, or for striking out parts. Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, in his morning speech, justified in detail the opinion formed by the drafting committee, led by him, on the various proposals, that is, on their political content:

[Begin Berecz recording] Our party has changed fundamentally in the course of the debates of the past months. From people who wait for answers from above, who sometimes become uncertain, who have sometimes have lost perspectives, who are committed to or accept the role of implementing in practice, the party membership is being molded into a party which seeks the answers, which takes a critical standpoint, and from this is able to formulate forward-looking requirements of action, and which demands an active part in the shaping of policy.

A salient expression of this is that the participants in the party conference have asked leave to speak with the creative demand of seeking a path, or they have submitted their written proposals with this intention.

Our commitment to renewing policy has been reflected in that they have phrased their opinions relating to the draft, for the most part, in the framework of comprehensive concepts. We have received nearly 600 remarks and proposals.

This was enriched by the proposals sent by mail from the basic organizations, sometimes from collectives and individual people.

The County Baranya group of delegates handed over collectively worked out proposals to the drafting committee. The committee had a difficult task when preparing the standpoint's final text, because it had to consider many very valuable proposals, observations, and incorporate them into the text or take the stance that it should be handled differently.

The requirement was also raised that the creation of a party program was expected of the draft standpoint. Other people found wanting an analysis extending to every sphere of social life and a detailed working out of the tasks. However, the drafting committee's judgement was that in the current situation, the party conference must focus on decisive social, economic, and political issues, on shaping the conditions of renewal. For this, however, the renewal of the party and the political system, and the consistent pursuance of the economic reform process are necessary.

This is why we propose to the delegates, that they should consent to this document focusing on these issues, and it formulates, primarily, the party's next tasks.

Connected with this, the state and the social organizations as well, can independently shape their programs. Some people have proposed that our conference should decide on the new party program being completed by the 14th congress. We believe that it would not be expedient, from here, to tie the hands of the next congress, to decide its tasks in advance.

However, to prepare the party program, the necessary analyses must be completed. This is our recommendation for the standpoint, which is what it contains.

Many proposals have come in which can make the standpoint more precise, more refined, more expressive. I have received some of them just now in the recess. These pertain primarily to the development of the party's internal life, to the strengthening of party democracy, to stepping up the independent and partnership role of the mass organizations, to the situation of KISZ, to the tasks of education and culture.

It became unequivocal in the debate that a key issue now of making the turn-about [fordulat], the reform, and the renewal successful is a modern interpretation of the party's leading role, a renewal of its internal relations and operation. Here, for example, the proposals of Attila Pataki, Istvan Katona, and others have contributed to the strengthening of the democratism of the party's internal life and of the guarantees which are necessary for its development.

Also correct are those people, for example (Laszlo Huszti), who, taking this as their starting point, have analyzed in detail the role of the basic organizations in the renewal of the party's internal life.

The reworked draft standpoint designates only the main directions of the necessary restructuring [atalakitas] of the system of political institutions. However, there is no doubt that it cannot determine the tasks in detail. In our opinion, the fulfillment of demands in this direction exceeds the possibilities of the party conference and the framework of the document.

The renewal of the system of political institutions can be the result of the organic development of Hungarian society. We must not make the old mistake; we cannot, in advance, make theoretical models into reality.

Dear comrades, we are aware that ideology cannot undertake a detailed description of the social conditions and processes that we wish to attain in the future, the

explanation of every phenomenon in social and political life. However, it can help, and it has to help, in making it possible for our endeavors aimed at renewal to be on an historic scale.

In harmony with that which is contained in the draft standpoint, it is the task of ideology therefore to interpret the conditions of socialist society, its processes of functioning, to explore the nature of the contradictions which manifest themselves in the process of development, to give a critical evaluation of them, and to have ideas for solving them. But the task of solving them always belongs to the political leadership.

Political ideology can have a stimulating effect on the social processes and on political action if it adjusts to the real values of the movement. Its role in orientating society and the political decisions is realized if it sets the framework for the decisions on the road to be followed, without, however, prescribing all the steps in the process of development.

A renewal of our social policy and youth policy practice is necessary in order for some of the current tensions which exist in the situation of young people to be resolved. We must now formulate the bases of a political program which can mean an attractive future for youth as well. In our opinion, the main elements of this are contained in the draft standpoint.

We have to understand Mrs Csilla Jenei Fejes and those who agree with her, that today it is not easy to be a young person and a party member. It cannot be any consolation to them that the situation of the older party members is not any easier either. Arguments and [word indistinct] for their offensive can be provided only by our realistic program, the unity of our words and deeds, their continuously increasing knowledge of and active participation in politics.

The part of the draft stance which deals with the economy tries to take as a point of departure the laws of socialist goods production. It has been confirmed in the debate that our most important task is to implement the renewal program adopted by the Central Committee on 2 June 1987 and to execute the government stabilization program approved by the National Assembly. The relevant section of the document is in harmony with this. It is really true that the mood of the conference is primarily influenced by the words which were expressed, but we still had to take into account the fact that time was not available to cater to all of our comrades who registered to speak. All this notwithstanding, I can assure the party conference that the Editorial Committee seriously considered the views submitted in written form and took into account their values when it modified the draft stance.

We are proposing—I may now say that we are doing so in agreement with Comrade Kadar's closing words—that NEPSZABADSAG publish the full list of those who had no time to speak but who submitted their views in writing. Regarding the area of competence, we leave it to the party organizations to decide whether to publish their delegates' speeches and written submissions in country, city, or factory newspapers.

Comrade Kadar also said in his closing speech that several proposals had been received which contain concrete recommendations for the forthcoming short-term time-span. We have also summed these up. The Editorial Committee's working committee has also processed and grouped them according to subject and considers the preparation of a detailed work plan regarding the tasks named in the stance justified. Therefore, it is asking the delegates to authorize the would-be elected Central Committee to consider the composition of the work plan for the fulfillment of the draft stance, of the stance, or to consider those concrete proposals not included in it which are available to us so that they too should form part of the work plan. In the spirit of full openness, I can conceive that the Central Committee will decide to publish this work plan. We propose that the party conference commission the new, would-be elected Central Committee with this.

Esteemed party conference. Our political line's main principles and directions have been delineated during the debates from the identity of the various views which appeared, the endeavors forcing renewals, and the draft stance, which you have modified as well as from the document which hopefully you will now confirm and adopt as a resolution. The aim and content of this is the demand of the necessary turning point, reform, and renewal, ie. that we should radically speed up the reform process in every area of society it is needed; that we should continue resolutely and coordinatedly the renewal of the operation of the system of economic and political institutions and of our ideology; and that we should help renew society's creative force. We should do this in the interest of successfully continuing the building of socialism in our homeland.

I think we can say that there is unity in this and in our commitment to this cause, that we are united in strategic issues. This is a qualitatively new unity which is born always in debates and to which the debates always give new birth. We must also see that this unity which is born always in debates and to which the debates always give new birth. We must also see that this unity has, as yet, created only a new point of departure for enabling us to cover the path now laid down. In order for us to be able to go on to the end on the path now designated, we must learn to meet the requirement which Comrade Janos Kadar, in the reporting speech, formulated in this way: There is a need for unity in the party, for standing fast in politics, for solidarity in the country, for steadfastness in work.

Let us accept this thought as a summary of the wisdom of a responsible politician's life. I am convinced thta I express the thoughts and feelings of all us, that Comrade

Janos Kadar's experiences, and in his words, his fixed ideas, will be indispensable for our party in the future, too.

Neither do we have another choice, because we must continue on the path we have chosen and we must achieve, with a series of actions, a turn for the better so that both society and the citizen can approach their objectives, that is, that the country should prosper.

This is the test and the guarantee of the survival of unity. It is this to which the party conference may contribute with the adoption of the stance. On behalf of the Editorial Committee, I propose to and ask the comrade delegates to adopt, with their decisions, and make the stance on the tasks of the party and the development of the system of political institutions into a document whose fulfillment must be compulsory.

Thank you for your attention. [applause] [end recording]

Party Officials Named

LD2205212788 Budapest MTI in English 1900 GMT 22 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—The national conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party ended Sunday evening with a plenary session. Erno Gyuricza, president of the Returning Committee, announced that the national party conference had elected a 108-member Central Committee at its closed session Sunday afternoon. Then the Central Committee held its first session and elected

Janos Kadar, president of the HSWP,
Karoly Grosz, general secretary.
Janos Berecz, Judit Csehak, Karoly Grosz, Csaba Hamori, Pal Ivanyi, Janos Lukacs, Miklos Nemeth, Rezso Nyers, Imre Pozsgay, Istvan Szabo and Ilona Tatai members of the Political Committee,
Janos Berecz, Gyorgy Fejti, Janos Lukacs, Miklos Nemeth, Lenard Pal and Matyas Szuros secretaries of the Central Committee.

The closed session of the party conference elected a 29-member Central Control Committee. Andras Gyenes was elected president and Imre Somogyi secretary of the Central Control Committee.

After the results of the election were announced, Janos Kadar took the floor.

The members of the HSWP Central Committee are:

Gyorgy Aczel, director general of the Institute of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the HSWP,
Albert Antaloczy, first secretary of the Komarom County Committee of the HSWP,
Tibor Baranyai, general secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions,
Ferenc Bartha, state secretary at the Ministry of Trade,
Mrs Oszkar Barts, first secretary of the Fejer County Committee of the HSWP,
Tamas Beck, president of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, director general of the Buda-Flax spinning and weaving company,
Ferenc Becze, head of maintenance group at the Szekszard meat combine,
Frigyes Berecz, minister of industry,
Janos Berecz, secretary of the Central Committee of the HSWP,
Gyula Bereczky, president of the Hungarian television,
Ivan T. Berend, president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, academician,
Laszlo Bocsak, manager of the Novotel Hotel and the Budapest Convention Centre;
Istvan Bonyai, foreman of the Matra Volan enterprise,
Gabor Borbely, editor-in-chief of NEPSZABADSAG,
Sandor Borbely, national commander of the workers' militia,
Laszlo Boros, foreman at the Sopron headquarters of the Gyor-Sopron County state building industry enterprise,
Robert Burgert, general manager of the Babolna agricultural combine,
Csaba Csaki, rector of the Karl Marx University of Economics,
Judit Csehak, minister of social welfare and health,
Mrs Janos Csikasz, shift leader of the Kecskemet canning factory,
Laszlo Deak, miner of the Mecsek metal mining enterprise,
Jozsef Dudla, first secretary of the Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County Committee of the HSWP,
Maria Duschek, president of the National Council of Hungarian Women,
Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the Central Committee of the HSWP,
Jeno Fock, retired chairman of the Council of Ministers,
Katalin Fodor Birges, managing secretary of the Bekes County Council of the Trade Unions,
Mrs Antal Gaspar, seamstress of the Balassagyarmat factory of the Budapest fine knitwear factory,
Mrs Laszlo Glanz, principal of the primary school of Felsoszolnok,
Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers,
Ferenc Gubicza, president of the "Csopak Taja" agricultural cooperative of Balatonfured,
Laszlo Gyuricza, first secretary of the Veszprem County Committee of the HSWP,
Csaba Hamori, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary,
Lajos Hegedus, president of the "Erdei Ferenc" agricultural cooperative of Harta,
Zsuzsa Hollan, director and head physician of the National Institute of Haematology and Blood Transfusion,
Janos Hoos, secretary of the state of the National Planning Office,
Gyula Horn, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Ede Horvath, general manager of the Raba Hungarian railway carriage and machine works,

Istvan Horvath, minister of the interior,
Jozsef Horvath, car mechanic of the Csepel automobile afctory,
Istvan Huszar, director of the Institute of Party History of the Central Committee of the HSWP,
Gyorgy Illei, deputy director and head physician of the 'Markusovszky' hospital and clinic of the Vas County Council,
Pal Ivanyi, president of the Budapest Metropolitan Council,
Mihaly Jasso, secretary of the Budapest Committee of the HSWP,
Endre Jokay, toolmaker of the electrical insulation and plastics factory,
Istvan Judik, foreman at the Szeged unit of the Great Plain Oil and Gas Company,
Gyorgy Juscsak, director of the Matraalja state farm,
Bela Katona, first secretary of the HSWP Committee in district 18 of Budapest,
Imre Katona, secretary of the Presidential Council,
Janos Kadar, president of the HSWP,
Gyula Kallai, retired speaker of parliament,
Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence,
Janos Kazsmer, general manager of the Videoton Electronics Company,
Istvan Kiss, sculptor, rector of the College of Fine Arts,
Imre Klenovics, first secretary of the Somogy County Committee of the HSWP,
Tibor Koi, track-master of the Zahony Directorate of the Hungarian State Railways MAV,
Mihaly Korom, retired secretary of the HSWP Central Committee,
Geza Kotai, head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the HSWP Central Committee,
Ferenc Kovacs, rector of the Heavy Engineering Technical University of Miskolc,
Imre Kovacs, head of the Economic Policy Department of the HSWP Central Committee,
Laszlo Kovacs, general secretary of the Union of Mineworkers,
Lajos Koveskuti, president of the National Council of Industrial Cooperatives OKISZ, president of the telecommunication cooperative,
Lajos Krasznai, first secretary of the Pest County Committee of the HSWP,
Sandor Kunos, foreman of the Mezogep enterprise of Oroshaza,
Pal Losonczi, retired president of the Presidential Council,
Janos Lukacs, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee,
Kalman Magyar, secretary of the party committee of the Semmelweis University of Medical Sciences, university professor,
Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of trade,
Laszlo Marothy, minister of environmental protection and water management,
Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers,
Magda Molnar, director of the Helikon publishers,
Lajos Morocz, state secretary of the Ministry of Defence,
Imre Nagy, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary,
Sandor Nagy, secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions,
Miklos Nemeth, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee,
Rezso Nyers, scientific advisor of the Economics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences,
Istvan Orban, director-general of the Egis pharmceutical factory,
Maria Ormos, rector of the Janus Pannonius University of Pecs,
Bela Osztafi, foundrymen of the Ozd metallurgical works,
Szilveszter Ordogh, writer, editor of UJ IRAS,
Lenard Pal, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee,
Janos Perenyi, principal of the "Deri Miksa" engineering industry specialized secondary school of Szeged,
Istvan Petrovszki, head of the Party and Mass Organizations Department of the HSWP Central Committee,
Jozsef Ponya, director-general of the Paks nuclear power plant enterprise,
Imre Pozsgay, general secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front,
Mrs Sandor Rajki, secretary of the party committee of the "Gagarin" thermal power plant enterprise,
Sandor Rajnai, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to the Soviet Union,
Mrs Revesz, Anna Keri, forewoman of the electron tube factory in Kaposvar of Tungsram,
Mrs Sandor Rimoczi, forewoman of the Mezotur factory of the Kontakta enterprise,
Pal Romany, rector of the Political College of the HSWP,
Istvan Sarlos, president of the National Assembly,
Istvan Szabo, president of the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives and president of the "Voros Csillag" agricultural cooperative of Nadudvar,
Istvan Szabo, first secretary of the Szolnok County Committee of the HSWP,
Agnes Szepe, quality controller of the refrigerating industry enterprise of Zalaegerszeg,
Mrs Janos Szilagyi, laboratory worker of the Biogal pharmaceutical factory,
Tibor Szilagyi, actor of the Vigszinhaz company,
Istvan Szlamenicky, general secretary of the National Council of the Consumer Cooperative Societies Szovosz,
Matyas Szuros, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee,
Mrs Imre Takacs, technologist of the Ajka glass factory,
Ilona Tatai, director general of the Taurus rubber industry enterprise,
Pal Tetenyi, president of the State Office for Technical Development, academician,
Mrs Toth, Maria Kiss, head of personnel affairs of the Nyirbator unit of the Quality shoe factory,
Ferenc Tokei, scientific advisor of the Linguistic Sciences Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, leader of the Oriental Sciences work team of the academy, academician,

Istvan Tompe, retired chairman of the State Radio and Television Committee,
Gyorgy Vajda, director of Research Institute for Electric Energy,
Laszlo Varga, general secretary of the National Council of the Hungarian Young Pioneers' Association,
Jeno Vancsa, minister of agriculture and food,
Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs,
Jozsef Veres, retired minister of labour.
The Political committee of the HSWP:
Janos Berecz, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee,
Judit Csehak, minister of social welfare and health,
Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP, prime minister,
Csaba Hamori, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary,
Pal Ivanyi, president of the Budapest Metropolitan Council,
Janos Lukacs, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee,
Miklos Nemeth, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee,
Rezso Nyers, scientific advisor of the Economics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences,
Imre Pozsgay, general secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front,
Istvan Szabo, president of the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives and president of the "Voros Csillag" agricultural cooperative of Nadudvar,
Ilona Tatai, director-general of the Taurus rubber industry enterprise.

The Central Control Committee of the HSWP

President: Andras Gyenes
Secretary: Imre Somogyi
Members of the Central Control Committee:
Gabor Apati Nagy, vice-president of the "Oktober 6" agricultural cooperative of Nagyszenas,
Janos Borbandi, retired deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers,
Jeno Csente, front master of the Tatabanya coal mines enterprise,
Andras Csillik, first secretary of the HSWP Party Committee of the Ministry of the Interior,
Pal Danyi, first secretary of the Baranya County Committee of the HSWP,
Istvan Derfalvi, first secretary of the party committee of district 2 in Budapest,
Jozsef Farkas, foreman of the Lenin metallurgical works,
Mrs Lajos Farkas, retired secretary of the leadership of the Union of Iron, Metal and Electric Energy Workers,
Lajos Farkasinszky, retired vice-president of the Budapest Metropolitan Council,
Mrs Jozsef Feher, first secretary of the party committee of district 1 in Budapest,
Andras Gyenes, president of the HSWP Central Control Committee,
Janos Juhasz, foreman of the Transport and Metro Construction Company (Kev Metro),
Ferenc Koszorus, general secretary of the Railway Workers' Union,
Arpad Kovacs, chairman of the "Beke" cooperative farm at Fot,
Florian Kovats, director of the cultural centre of Zalaegerszeg,
Ferenc Marta, director of the Central Chemical Research Institute, academician,
Laszlo Nemeth, first secretary of the HSWP Committee of Eger,
Mrs Nemeth, Erzsebet Kanya, chief forewoman of the Szekesfehervar light metal works,
Ferenc Petrak, retired president of the Leather Workers' Union,
Sandor Postas, first secretary of the Hajdu-Bahir County Committee of the HSWP,
Sandor Racz, retired deputy minister of defence,
Lajos Rev, retired president of the National Federation of Industrial Cooperatives (Okisz),
Karoly Rumpf, vocational instructor of the Csepel works,
Sandor Sebes, retired deputy minister of internal trade,
Imre Somogyi, secretary of the Central Control Committee of the HSWP,
Sandor Szerenyi, retired director of the Political college of the HSWP,
Janos Tausz, retired general manager of Ibusz travel agency,
Peter Varga, head of the Public Administration and Administrative Affairs Department of the HSWP Central Committee,
Miklos Zsuffa, general manager of the Nograd collieries enterprise.

Kadar Closes Session

LD2205205288 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1842 GMT 22 May 88

[Speech by Janos Kadar at the closing session of the MSZMP Conference 22 May in Budapest—Live]

[Text] Dear comrades, time has passed. I have spoken twice at the party conference; therefore, I do not wish to talk for too long, or even less, to repeat myself. I will briefly say a few words.

It is my conviction that the party conference—with 3 days of hard work—has successfully fulfilled its task. It has raised a resolution on its standpoint that indicates the party's tasks in the further development of our system of political institutions. It has reelected the party's leading organs.

I thank the comrades who have worked in what were the party organs up until now and who have now left those organs. I thank them for their work, which they carried out over a long time with honor and integrity. [applause]

For my part, I would also like to sincerely congratulate those comrades who have been newly elected into the party organs. Health and success to all of them.

Dear comrades, we have a program: the party's program for economic resurgence of last July, the government's 3-year program for stabilization of last September, and now this have been crowned by the stance of the party conference, which points the way and gives the direction.

Great and difficult tasks must be solved. For this, a united will is needed. In the party and in the country, we have to join forces. The party's path was mentioned often here.

The party wants to fulfill its historic mission, and today declared that it can do this if it renews party life and the party's method of work; if it shapes them in line with new requirements; and if it continues its work along the road of democratization and reforms.

It does so by continuing its alliance policy and in close contact with the party. In other words, in solidarity with all Hungarians faithful to socialist society, regardless of party affiliation or ideological commitment, it endeavors to rally all of the nation's creative powers for the fulfillment of that great historical task that ultimately influences the prosperity of our people and the future fate of our nation. We also intend to cooperate with our allies and—in international life—with all those who may be our partners in the strengthening of peace and security and in the fruitful cooperation and contact of countries and peoples. This is the essence of our work. Further elaboration of this is perhaps superfluous.

Finally, I would like to say thanks to the delegates of the party conference, the organizers, the people of the news communication organs, the organs providing the technical facilities for the national party conference's work, and to the workers of other institutions. I wish everyone well, and wish good health and success to all.

As far as I am concerned, I deeply believe that by carrying out, with one will in our everyday work, the things that during these 3 days we have made an oath to do, we shall prosper. Our people will solve those tasks that today demand solution and will go on successfully down the road of constructing socialism and will prosper. They will progress toward a better, more beautiful, and more promising future. It is my deep conviction. With this I declare the work of the party conference completed. I close the session, and I request that we sing the Internationale.

Excerpts of Kadar Concluding Speech

LD2205140388 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 0940 GMT 22 May 88

["Excerpts" of concluding speech by Janos Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, at 22 May session of the MSZMP conference in Budapest—recorded]

[Text] I would like to remind you that at the start of our meeting on the Central Committee Commission I gave an introduction aimed at drawing attention to certain questions and helping the debate on the base document; I did not give the Central Committee's report.

Thus, now, in the closing speech, I would like to deal with the question of the meeting. I will speak briefly, and will not deal with the central questions of the meeting which are laid down in the document, and not even with the many observations which came up in the debate. This is impossible.

The document, that is the standpoint, deals with every important question of our life, with every important question of work, from a political approach, and in truth the debate did this too, that is, the party conference meeting.

I thought I would give a brief closing speech — I spoke to the Politburo yesterday evening about this and they agreed with this — for I would consider it impermissible here, in a freely given speech, to try to reinterpret the very important and numerous questions of Hungary's domestic political life in a free speech. This would be a mistake.

First, I would like to evaluate the main characteristics of the debate, the party conference meeting. This does not express only my opinion — I do this with the agreement of the Politburo. According to this estimation, the main characteristics of this debate was openness, an awareness of responsibility, and a critical spirit. In this sense, the meeting and also the contributions fulfilled their functions.

We think that this debate, which was carried out in the party conference, was a worthy conclusion to the general debate — valued very highly and continued over a long time — which was carried out in the party on the draft standpoint. Moreover it was characteristic in the course of the wide-ranging debate which spread beyond the party.

This was the concluding act of this debate, it was worthy of the level of the party conference, and also of the debate up to now, and it concluded this on a higher level. This is the general opinion of the debate.

Naturally, it is impossible for me here to return to the contributions, the individual contributions heard in the debate, and to their precise elements. I could not undertake this.

But, I would like to thank all those delegates who spoke in the debate; they helped the work of the party conference and made a high-level contribution to it, and they gave help on the standpoint.

I would like to talk separately about Academician Dezsoe Keresztury, the only non-party member who addressed the debate, who also contributed to the success of our debate. I would like to thank Dezsoe Keresztury for those appreciative words with which he evaluated the historical struggle of the party. Also for those words with which he drew the attention of the conference, and I

think the leadership and whole membership of the MSZMP, to the fact that the work of the party determines the fate of the nation. This was also a warning for me.

I also thank those few critical observations of his on the standpoint, which also help me; also on finalizing the standpoint, and later work too, for the debate. And if you will permit, according to my formulation, this is what I consider to be the most important.

As conceived by the Central Committee, the conference dealt with the political approach to the most topical social questions today. Within this—and this has also gained expression in the agenda—were questions of the further development of party work, the renewal of the party, the up-to-date interpretation and application of the party's leading role, as well as the further development of the social-policy organizations of the Hungarian People's Rpeublic and the further development of their work.

I think that in this fundamental question which was the central, and in my view the most important question of this conference—namely that the party must renew itself in internal party work, in its outside activities, and that the institutions, social institutions of the Hungarian People's Republic must be provided with independent and responsible shperes of work in order to improve administrative work as well as to suitably share out responsibility—in this question of whether the party wishes to proceed along the path of renewal, the path of democratization, the path of reforms, and is endeavoring to obtain a socialist solution for the topical political questions and to whether the Hungarian people should continue to tread the path of socialism, on these questions this party conference was united. And this is the most important achievement of this conference. This is the most important precondition for further work.

Beside this, I wish to raise only a few issues of a different nature which have a bearing on the party and on society; issues which were also present and were touched on from many sides during the conference. But I would like to use the opportunity of this closing speech to repeatedly and once again call attention to a few questions.

First: I remind you that in the framework of socialist construction, in its interpretation and its perception, our party was among the first parties of the socialist countries to call attention to the fact that in socialist construction, in the propagation of the general principales of socialism, in the framework of striving to fulfill the daily tasks of socialist construction, in the mobilization of the masses which will have significance in the future as well, and in orientation, besides great theoretical and fundamental principles an indispensible element of socialist construction involves taking interestedness into consideration, too—the direct interestedness of the workers in the progress of socialist construction; and collective interestedness, too—anything other than what is general which is the interest of the entire people—group interests as well as individual interests. [sentence as heard]

Our party called attention to this at an early stage. It has endeavored to implement this principle, and it is my profound conviction that it must strive for this in the future as well, for this is a force of propulsion, an engine of socialist construction without which it cannot make progress in the way it should.

Well, this egalitarianism was born in early years; it is rather deeply rooted in every respect. For the time being, it is functioning badly in practice and there are very many reasons for this; there are many reasons for this.

I think everyone could observe over many years, in the most varied of institutions, at producing and nonproducing works, that if there was a need for an increase in assets and they thought in categories, they very often thought that if this group got something last year then this year this group must get something and next year, that group will get something, they did not think in terms of true performance and labor. And the same thing happened with individuals.

In this—by the way, excuse me, I do not want to criticize anyone—in this, a certain leadership weakness also played a part. Not one leader likes to be a bad man, even if it is a necessity. He needs encouragement, for he must decide on hard and resolute actions, too—even on the sharing out of assets, and very many people do not undertake this gladly, and get used to it with difficulty, but they must get used to it.

Well, I remember that in one of these things, one of these quite trivial, small things, we also have this system of awards—you know very well that this too is categorized, how many decorations there are for which main area and, of course, this too must be stopped—and within this, on who lost [words indistinct], this number of decorations go to that institution, and that is how they divided it up. This and that one got one the year before last, they got one last year, they will get one this year, and [words indistinct]. Even this too was detached from real production and example setting.

Well, this kind of practice must be stopped. It must be stopped, otherwise progress cannot be made. Interestedness too must operate alongside the basic justness of socialism, and people must recognize this: That practice cannot be continued, good production cannot be encouraged and developed in this way, that the budget creams off from those that work well—for what can it do? The budget needs money too—and it permanently shares out the material resources taken from those who are good, to those who are not working in the right direction. This cannot be continued (?and borne either).

Well, to put it this way, those collectives that really work as the present situation demands should enjoy the advantages, and disadvantages too must be [word indistinct] by those collectives that do not work well. And this applies to a certain extent to individuals too.

Well, it was raised at this conference as well, correctly and rightly, and was given great emphasis in the course of the preparatory work, the debates as well, that there is now a certain laxness in the state of society, in its moral condition. This laxness has grown in a very wide sphere, and though we have not been able to realize differentiation appropriately, as regards the remuneration of collectives and individuals in accordance with their performance, a negative element has entered the thinking of the people, in a rather wide sphere.

Thinking in terms of the community has been pushed into the background. Egotism and selfishness, and not just in the material sense, have spread in a rather wide circle, and this is not the normal condition of our society. A certain conduct, a certain approach to matters, can be required from the people. And this (?does not follow from individual, egotistic considerations), but a party member must focus first and foremost on the demands of the party, the demands of society and the interests of society. This must be required of every party member. And we have to bring back thinking in terms of the community, which has become lax and been pushed into the background.

Well, there has been a lot of criticism of the party leadership—rightly, with good reason; I do not deny this. However, it has to be said, comrades, that the party leadership can improve as regards its composition [javulhat oesszeteteleben]. This is one of the tasks of this conference, but this is not a miracle cure. This is not a miracle cure. This cannot in itself solve the problems. As I tried to touch on in my introduction as well, those tasks can only be solved successfully and as soon as possible—I daresay that this is not 2 weeks or 2 months—if every party member does in his own place that which has to be done in the interest of achieving this, with one will and thinking of the common goal. What is more, the same is true of every citizen.

Comrades, the welfare of the people—and this depends on the progress in building socialism—can be created only by the millions, with their own activities. This is how we must understand this question. The Central Committee has made great endeavors—not with satisfactory results, this must be added here, and that is why the criticism is justified—but believe me, comrades, that when we were in agreement on the basic principles at every session, and without exception, and also in what followed on, the other conferences, on the question of differentiation, branches, goals, communities, individuals, every agreed, always.

With a little exaggeration, I tell you, comrades, that in recent years apart from the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, all our institutions have turned into interest representational organs. All of them, without exception. Believe me, if you wanted me to I could go on for hours discussing the practice. Everybody is in agreement, but it does not apply to his branch. If it concerns the continued senseless subsidization of his factory, it is not applicable in that case, it should not apply to that.

This is even more so on personal matters. I am not saying this in order to throw back the criticism. The criticisms are well-founded. But this is the practice, believe me. Now, I have to speak on my own behalf because I cannot validate what I have to say: I have a fixation. For example, I was complimented on being I do not know what sort of man of compromise. In a certain sense this is true. I have a fixation that the realization of our goals, the implementation of the resolutions, depends on Hungarian public opinion accepting them.

These things that I have just touched upon, and, of course, unjustly, namely that everyone is an organ of interest representation, even in the factories, well, we made things more democratic, because the word democracy has a magic ring, everyone likes it, so we made enterprise managment more democratic, creating enterprise councils and God knows what else. This is a noteworthy innovation and one that must function, when it will function, genuinely, the way in which it has to function; this is a very useful thing. But on the basis of the first experiences, it seems as if some changes were still needed.

Comrades, as I have said before, the citizens have become better off, enterprises also exist, it is only the country that is poor. This is the kind of strange system that we have. Now, what other consequences follow from this decision? Actually, I agree that this party document and resolution, if it is still possible at all, and even more the party practice, should take a very resolute and decisive stand against the system of connections, against the unearned and dishonest self-rewarding by managers, as well as against the related activities, corruption, bribery, influencing, and against those actions that are just a bit further removed, the great economic criminal acts. Because this sort of egotism whereby people, often even decent people, lose sight of the interest of the community, the real community interests, meaning the interests of their own community, the interests of the people, and they turn in other directions—this makes easier the existence of connections, corruption, the awarding of unearned rewards, as well as the other forms of fraud, which, unfortunately, have become very widespread, the extra incomes and enrichment behind which there is no genuine performance.

Public opinion is always very strict with communists, and the higher the post he fills, the stricter public opinion is. I usually recommend to our party membership, and to the functionaries especially, that entitlements that are in line with the law are entitlements for

everyone, including party members. But let them rather take less than that which the law permits them to take instead of taking more, because that will rebound on them. Well, this is only what I can tell you on this occasion as well.

Finally, there is one more issue that I want to touch upon and this is a matter which has both international and domestic aspects, of course. As I have mentioned, this is why sometimes I am in favor of compromise—probably this is also mistaken at times—if the majority of Hungarian public opinion, the party membership, and not only the party membership, does not recognize, and does not understand, and is not pursuaded that this has to be done now, then it will not be realized.

Politics must be conducted openly; difficult causes must also be represented. This is the starting point for successful party work. However, there is also a need for understanding in the international sphere. Understanding is needed. I do not want to explain here once again in what ways we depend on international public opinion and, perhaps not correctly, let us say in main conceptual outlines, we have to take three spheres into consideration: socialist international public opinion, the public opinion of the developing world, which is particular in some respects, and to some extent we must take into consideration the public opinion of the developed capitalist world, our technical partners.

This is also a source of strength. Part of the successful solution of the tasks of our parties is that we should cultivate and develop friendship and cooperation with our faithful and very honorable chief ally, the Soviet Union; that we should cultivate and develop our cooperation with the countries of the Warsaw Pact, and also with the CEMA countries, because in all these spheres there are new features and these are relationships of genuine partnership. But this is indispensable and necessary.

We have often spoken about this: With our closest allies, partners, our relations are now very good, clear, cloudless; every issue can be brought up, on a mutual basis. There is a common wish and will. The CEMA work done jointly with our main partners must be reorganized. As regards the ways and means of this, this is something about which you have heard contributions here.

But in order to put it on the agenda and to be able to carry something into effect, this requires the understanding of domestic public opinion that this is what we have to do: let us say that is the minimum; and then, if possible, and if there is something to be enthusiastic about and (?to work for), people have to be mobilized.

And we also need the understanding of international public opinion. I mentioned in the first place our partners. As you know, we discussed whether we should join the EMS or not, or should we joint the World Bank. That was a problem of ours. Our financial experts urged that we should join; even so, this needed time. As for our partners, well, I will say it honestly, they were not enthusiastic, but they took cognizance of the fact that in such a [word indistinct] situation one had to join, to decide.

Because there is need for this understanding; this should not be underestimated. (?But in the last resort it has to be carried out.) [words indistinct] And there are of course [words indistinct] the understanding of the man in the street; (?it has to be done together). Why is this necessary? Well, you know comrades, the party leadership is clear about the principled bases of the system of relations; it will never comdemn us about whether or not we enter the EMS. But even there the partners are men, even there they are partners, and future negotiating partners may approach the Hungarian relation in this guise: that if we have gained nothing from here so far...[as heard] And there is competition.

That is why we need a certain understanding. This is also a part of the events, naturally. I do not want to (?go into all that again). And even the capitalist partners, the small ones or the not-so-small ones, we do not tolerate them interfering in the internal affairs of our system, in our measures. But it is certain that some kind of readiness for cooperation has to exist on the side of the partners also. And I say it now that among our main partners in Western Europe—that is, on the economic field—there do exist forces and factors that think soberly, and that are orientated toward peaceful coexistence, and are orientated toward the future and not the past. And they are clear that if this struggle advances further, and mutual security comes into force, then peaceful coexistence cannot remain on the line of peaceful coexistence, but it will have to go over the line toward sensible mutual cooperation, which adequately meets with the interests of the partners.

We do have partners in this and we need them. By the way, I would mention to you that even in the case of the western capitalist partners, our own party unity does matter; they value it. It is in their interest that there should be a stable situation in Hungary, in the political and economic sense.

I would mention a few proposals that came up in the debate. A proposal was raised that the work deriving and ensuing from the conference standpoint should be organized in such a way that the Central Committee should prepare a work program to implement. I approve of this, I approve of it.

The other proposal—several proposals—came up relating to modifying the regulation of organization, with the demand that work be tackled immediately, and by the time of the next party congress the appropriate changes in the regulation on organization should be (?worked out). This also has to be (?said here).

Then there was another proposal to the effect that a certain committee which, as you remember, will have to be sent out to conduct a deeper analysis of the process—and it will have to be sent out. This is, I think, a decision that has been adopted by now. The proposal says that it should also deal with reworking the party program, and it should submit this to the next congress.

In connection with this proposal, I have reservations. We need the committee, we need the deeper analysis, it is necessary and right, it has to be collated with the party program, and the party program will have to be reexamined, insofar as it is not durable and has to be changed. But I will say it to you comrades—there are less than 2 years to go before the congress, and work of such a nature cannot be carried out piecemeal.

So, I could support the proposal in this modified form: That this committee for analyzing processes should collate its conclusions with the party program, and should report the state of work to the next congress. But it should not be demanded that it submit it to a new party program because it seems that there is insufficient time for this.

Among other things, one of our female comrades proposed that the minutes of the Central Committee should be sent to every basic organization, that they should express an opinion on the decisions or standpoints that were adopted to the Central Committee, and then the Central Committee should react to the opinions of the basic organizations. Well, I started to think what this would mean. We have roughly 32,000 basic organizations, and they would be the ones to criticize the Central Committee's protocol. Then they would express an opinion; then they would submit their proposals; then the Central Committee would react to it; then that would be debated, and so on. When would the Central Committee do any work, or the basic organization leadership, or the basic organization itself?

Well, we cannot all of a sudden, by impulse, change [words indistinct] organizatioal pronciples. I do not think that this is realistic. I can only suggest one thing: Let this be examined. I do understand and respect the intention that lies behind it. The party membership should be directly and better informed about the Politburo's ideas while things are in progress.

As a matter of fact, I have my own particular views on this. I confess it. And perhaps in such things as this I change my opinion with difficulty, because I became acquainted with them in the course of many decades, the cost of certain experiences. Comrades, at a session, at the Central Committee sessions as well, it is a requirement [word indistinct] that it should deal with much fewer operative issues, and in others' place should examine issues, this or that economic issue, and in other things, too, it should politicize more, should analyze more deeply the basically important political and social issues. I agree with this.

So this will have to be examined, sending out the protocol, how and in what way it is rational, how improvement of the substantive conditions of discussion can be guaranteed, and how the party membership can be informed better and in midstream about the party's stand. This is an absolutely justified demand. After all, on a daily basis they meet with phenomena, symptoms, opinions. Well, they have to know what the party's standpoint is, otherwise, they will not be able to react in accordance with it.

Now, I would also mention that one of the tasks is to guarantee the party's leading role, and in part also to some extent the renewal of the party leadership. Well, perhaps this word does not figure very much here, but there is a new concept in the life of the socialist countries: socialist pluralism. This, as an idea, is important, and it is good, and we have to deal with it. The essence of this, naturally, is that even in our society there cannot be standardized [uniformizalt], articulated [tagolt], rigid adoption of fixed stances; that is not possible. It is not necessary, even in party life, in public life either. And, above all, it is not possible and not necessary to elect to the committees so to say robot-men [gdpemberek] [Kadar laughs], who always have the same opinion about everything, even before, so to say, anyone has pressed the button. It is not possible to work like that.

But I want to say that our party in any case does not work like that. In our Central Committee—you have to know this, and you do know it—there are many kinds of approaches to current issues, many kinds. And it will be so in the future too. And I consider this to be useful, because this assists in making decisions. We strive, not in the manner of robot-men and not without thinking, to assure the unity of our leading bodies through the multifaceted examination of issues, discussing them from many sides and by weighing up all viewpoints. This applies also to the draft standpoint and this [word indistinct] seriously, seriously.

So, thinking of all these things, I would like to ask you, perhaps cutting ahead a little, to support the approval of the party conference's draft standpoint. This is a very important document, a useful one. It gives, precisely designates, the direction of action and the party's tasks in very important areas. I therefore ask you to support it, so that we are able, in the future, to work in accordance with this in a united spirit.

The contributions here have touched on this, I do not want to detail them. It is my profound conviction, I shall say this much although someone criticized these things—I do not criticize, I proclaim this: The party is able to surmount the difficulties, and the country also is able to surmount the difficulties. This depends on one's attitude, as to how much time to devote to one question and the other—and there are things that need several years, but it will be able to surmount them—with the fundamental attitude, the identical nature of the attitude.

And if there is clear guidance and suitable goals and also if there is perspective, then there will be support.

Many contributors here spoke in the name of those they represented: Worker in large manufacturing industry, cooperative peasant, intellectual, young people. If there is guidance, a rational program that can be followed, then there will be support, and the questions of the party and society will be solved, and we shall make progress.

As regards the goal, I do not want to, nor am I able, to use poetic words, but in the debate, I think at the Central Committee, I heard this expression: Functioning socialism [muekoedoe szocializmus] is what we want. Well, it seems this is a nice, demanding requirement, but I would amend it a little to say: A better-functioning socialism. This is already functioning, but we have been hearing for 3 days the remarks that it is not functioning properly, not as required. So our goal is a socialism that functions well, in the political structure, in the economic sphere, and in the cultural domain as well. We want a socialism that functions well, and this is the most honorable way to serve the interests of the Hungarian people and the nation.

Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Berecz Speaks on Draft Statement

LD2205152688 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 22 May 88

[Text] [Correspondent] After Janos Kadar's closing speech the delegates studied the draft standpoint, which the drafting committee had finalized during the night and distributed in the morning. The committee also had taken into account the more than 200 contributions which had been submitted in writing. After the break, Janos Berecz submitted the report of the drafting committee, emphasizing that in the course of the debates of the past months, the party had fundamentally changed. The membership did not wait for answers from above but asked for an active part in shaping policy.

Janos Berecz also reacted to numerous concrete items from among the contributions. Now, without claiming to cover everything, we shall quote some excerpts from his speech:

[Begin Berecz recording] The drafting committee has been of the judgement that in the current situation the party conference must focus on some decisive social, economic, political issues, on shaping the conditions for renewal. For this, however, the renewal of the party and the political system and the consistent pursuance of the economic reform process are necessary.

This is why we propose to the delegates that they should consent to this document focussing on these issues, and it formulates, primarily, the party's next tasks.

Connected with this, the state and the social organizations as well can independently shape their programs. Some people have proposed: Our conference should decide on the new party program being completed by the 14th congress. We believe: It would not be expedient, from here, to tie down the hands of the next congress, to decide its tasks in advance.

However, for the preparation of the party program, the necessary analyses must be completed. This is what we also recommend putting down in the standpoint, just as it contains.

The basic substance of renewal consists in developing socialist pluralism's operable system of institutions. The structural rearrangement of the political framework has already become an undeferrable task. The mechanism which realizes political power must be altered by reforms.

The direction of restructuring [atalakitas] amounts to the development of a political system with several centers of decision-making, which rests on a codified division of labor, and is based on the party's leading role.

The building and strengthening of the democratic institutions of the socialist political system also requires large-scale, comprehensive legislative activity. The drafting committee agrees with Comrade Csaba Hamori that the situation of youth does not appear as befits their real political importance in the standpoint. A renewal of our social policy, our youth policy practice, is necessary for some of the current tensions which exist in youth's situation to be resolved. A turn-about [fordulat] to be achieved in the effectiveness of the economy can create the basic elements for the unfolding [kibontakozas] of the reform process which favor youth.

Nevertheless we propose that we should not measure preoccupation with the situation of youth by the length of what is contained in the document. We must now formulate the bases of a political program which contains an attractive future for the youth as well. In our opinions, the main elements of this are contained in the draft standpoint.

In a coordinated and resolute manner we should continue renewal of the economic and political institutional system operations, and of our ideology; we should help society's creative forces to unfold. We should do all this in the interest of successfully continuing to build socialism in our homeland.

In order for us to be able to continue to the end of the new-designated path, we must learn to meet the requirement which Comrade Janos Kadar formulated in this manner in his submission: There is a need for unity in the party, for standing firm in politics, for solidarity in the country, for standing one's ground in work.

Let us accept this thought as a summary of the wisdom of this responsible politician's life. I am convinced that I express the thoughts and feelings of all us, that Comrade Janos Kadar's experineces, and in his words, his fixed ideas, in the future too will be indispensable for our party.

Nor do we have another choice, because we must progress on the path we have chosen, and we must achieve, with a series of actions, an improvement in our matters, so that both society and the citizen approach their objectives, that is, so that the country should prosper. [end recording]

MSZMP Policy Statement

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[Party Conference—Policy Statement of the HSWP"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 23 (MTI)—The 13th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party held in March 1985 decided the creating of conditions for the improvement of economic equilibrium and an appreciable rise in the standard of living through better utilization of the resources of the socialist system and by increasing the performance of the national economy, of assisting the unfolding of the creativity of society through the advancement of culture and education, of strengthening national unity through the development of our democratic institutions.

The analysis of the situation adopted at the congress, and the goals for economic policy and development of the standard of living set on this basis have not proved to be well founded. The Seventh Five-Year Plan gave priority to more goals simultaneously than can be realistically attained. Our economic situation has not improved. There has been an increase in the country's foreign exchange debt, inflation has accelerated, the burdens of the population have grown and the standard of living declined.

This situation has been caused in part by factors beyond our control and, in much larger part by internal causes, shortcomings in our acitivity.

The Central Committee and the Government misjudged the influence on the Hungarian economy of the shifts that have occurred and are still continuing in the world economy, and as a result the economic policy response was not appropriate either. We did not face the conflicts inevitably involved in phasing our uneconomical production and reducing the level of supports, considering these to be avoidable. Distribution was not in line with the genuinely produced income. All this caused a further deterioration in external and internal equilibrium and led to growing indebtedness.

It became clear that the Hungarian economy can only attain lasting achievements if the reform already begun is continued, and the system of operation and management of the socialist commodity producing economy is shaped, in keeping with our level of development and endowments. The attainment of this was made more difficult by the fact that the reform launched in the economic sphere was not extended in time to other areas of social life. The aggravated contradictions in the economy are partly the causes and partly the consequences of the disorders that have arisen in social relations, in the operation of the system of political institutions. Economic development is also being impeded by such social circumstances as the lag in the standard of schooling, vocational training and general education behind the requirements of our age. The decline in the population, especially in the numbers of those of working age, and the inadequate state of health have an unfavourable influence on the performance capacity of society.

Public opinion reflects these contradictions, the population shows growing dissatisfaction over the stagnation in economic and social development and the increasing difficulties. Public mood has deteriorated, confidence towards the party and leaders has declined. Together with a realistic evaluation of the situation and the readiness to act, there are also pessimism and disillusionment, and unfounded, unrealistic ideas are also gaining ground.

The Central Committee and its executive organs, as well as the government and its institutions bear responsibility for this situation which has arisen. Some of the decisions were not well-grounded, and in a number of important questions they were unable to ensure the implementation of the resolutions. The practice and style of work of the party, state organs and social organizations have not changed in keeping with the requirements.

In its resolution of November 1986 the Central Committee declared the need for a change of course. Subsequently, in July 1987 the meeting of party activists, drawing on the recommendations of the scientific institutions and social organizations, elaborated the programme for economic and social advancement.

On this basis, the government prepared its programme of stabilization that was approved by the National Assembly. The renewal of government work began. Signs of modest improvement can be seen in the economy, but the change of course needed has not yet been achieved, the conditions can only be created over a longer period of time.

Our advance and the prosperity of the nation require a change of course imperative in every field of the society: to accelerate the reform processes, to continue the renewal of the operation of the system of economic and political institutions in a coordinated way, and help to unfold the creativity of society.

Through the development of the economy and socialist democracy we will be able to meet society's rightful demand for the preservation of security of existence, for incomes to be in line with performances, for inflation to be reduced, for the provision of better conditions for young people beginning their careers, supporting and raising families, for general care to be provided for the elderly and for those who find themselves in a difficult position through no fault of their own. In this way we will be able to meet our constant obligation to preserve and add to our national cultural values, strengthen social solidarity and raise the moral standard of society to a higher level.

The principal guarantee for the attainment of our goals is the socialist social system which is based on the people's power, built under the leadership of the working class, with the strength of the workers-peasants alliance and with the support of the intelligentsia, on the social ownership of the decisive part of the means of production, on the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, on the strengthening and development of the basic institutions of our society. The participation of communists and the non-party supporters of socialism in the shaping of policy, the renewal of the composition of the leading bodies, the development of the system of political institutions, the openness and publicity of political life make the process of reform of our social and economic life irreversible.

The party conference considers that the Central Committee should set up a working group to make a more thorough analysis of the situation, identify the causes, and drawing on the experiences of the recent debates, to trade the long-term programme for the building of socialism. Within this framework, the need to elaborate a new programme declaration must be examined.

I.

1. The national conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party considers that there is a need for the coordinated continuation and acceleration of the process of social and economic reform. Since the HSWP plays its leading role under the conditions of the historically shaped one-party system, the continuation of the comprehensive reform is the starting point of the renewal of the functioning of the party.

A. The political character of the party's activity must be strengthened. The achievements of science and practical experiences must be drawn on to a greater extent in the course of elaborating policy. Improvement is needed in the political preparation of party resolutions, and in the work of persuasion, organization and control after the decisions have been made.

The party should concentrate its activity on the development of social relations, on the defence of the socialist system and definition of the basic principles serving legality, on tracing the directions for the development of the national economy, on influencing the intellectual and ideological life of society, on improving the state of morality, on elaborating the principles and goals of our foreign policy and on developing our international relations. It must not take over the functions of the state and social organizations, but must assert its leading role within the legal frameworks, through the activity of its members, organizations and bodies, striving to win broad support and providing ideological and political guidance.

B. The party is built up and operates on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism. In the present situaiton the principal task is strengthening party democracy and unfolding it as fully as possible.

Between congresses, the Central Committee decides on matters affecting the party as a whole, adopts a stand on questions affecting society and the economy. In matters of major import, the Central Committee should make its decisions on the basis of a prior party debate involving the entire membership, and before adopting more important resolutions it should seek the opinion of the regional and workplace party committees.

Advisory bodies can be operated beside the Central Committee and, if required, beside the regional party organs, with the aim of providing a thorough basis for decisions and positions. Together with the improvement of central guidance, the participation of regional and workplace party organs, local organizations and party members should be ensured in the shaping of policy, increasing their autonomy and responsibility in representing the party's policy, in organizing and controlling political activity.

It is the right and duty of the local organizations and organs of the party to initiate the discussion or debate of questions they consider necessary in the higher party organs. It is the obligation of the meeting of the higher party organ to consider the proposals. The initiating party organ should be informed of the decision and of its motives. The jurisdiction of the local organizations must be expanded so that it is in harmony with the autonomy of the state organs, enterprises and institutions in the area in which they operate. They should receive the information they need for their work. The role of personal contacts, human and comradely relations should strengthen.

Modification of the system of decision-making and acceleration of the decision-making process are important elements in the renewal of party work. In preparing political decisions, the leading bodies should give consideration to the opinions and recommendations of the social organizations, organs for the representation of interests and public forums. As far as possible, drafts containing several alternatives should be drawn up,

taking into account the social interrelations and influences. Ideas differing from the one proposed should also be presented at the session of the party organ and it is to adopt a decision on them.

The principle of collective leadership is applied in the party. Those participating in the decisions and in their implementation have personal political responsibility. The control of execution must become a regular practice at all levels of party work. It should also extend to determining whether practice is confirming the correctness of policy and the different resolutions. The findings of control should be made public, extending, where necessary, to the personal responsibility of those preparing the decisions, adopting them and taking part in their execution.

The development of party democracy justifies the modification of the election system within the party. The possibility must be created for a given proportion of members of the guiding bodies to be elected directly by the local organizations and the lower-level party organs, and for them to recall these members if they are dissatisfied with their work or behaviour. Elections should be by secret ballot at all levels. More candidates should be nominated wherever required. Statistical considerations should not be a factor in the election of delegates to party conferences and the members of various bodies. The guiding party committees should not influence the election of the leaderships and office-bearers of local organizations or of the middle-party bodies.

The party's new election system must be introduced continuously from 1988.

Guidance is exercised everywhere by elected bodies, and in the local organizations by the members meeting. It is the task of the party machinery to organize and assist the preparation of decisions, make the resolutions known, apply and implement them and sum up experiences, under the guidance of the bodies. The professional composition and structure of the machinery operating under the guidance of the elected bodies and the qualifications of those concerned should be in keeping at all times with the changing tasks of the party organs.

C. The ideological, political and organizational unity and unity of action of the party must be continuously recreated. The communists should express an opinion openly and with a sense of responsibility in all forums and should raise their doubts in the party's forums. Objective and patient political debate must be made the general practice in the local organizations as well in the guiding bodies where what counts are arguments, rather than one's rank.

It is the duty of the party members to represent the position of the party bodies publicly. The leaders should set an example in this too. Outside the appropriate party forums, the party members must not make declarations in a spirit contrary to the resolutions adopted, they must not organize factions to support their differing opinions. Those who have remained in a minority with their opinion can expound their position at meetings of the party organs and in the party's theoretical forums, and they have the right to approach their own local party organization or body of the higher party organ to seek the reexamination of the controversial issue. However, as long as the resolution is in force, they are obliged to respect and implement it.

In the interest of strengthening unity of action, there is a need for a practice and system of information that keeps party members continuously informed of the reasons for decisions and resolutions and of the tasks. The information should also cover the alternatives that arose in the course of preparation of the decisions.

The members of the party must be continuously informed on the work and resolution of the Central Committee and its executive organs and of the central control committee. The members of the Central Committee and elected and appointed office holders at all levels of the party should meet with the local organizations more frequently, the relations between leaders and the membership should be direct and informal.

D. Cadre work plays a decisive role in the assertion of the leading role of the party. The principles of the party's cadre policy must be implemented. In making proposals for persons to hold politically important posts, the party organs should take into account the opinion of the electors. They must take action for the honesty and legality of elections and appointments, against the peddling of influence and unprincipled personal contacts. The principal yardstick for evaluating candidates must be their aptitude and, in the case of leaders in office, their performance, the success in their work and their human decency. The strict respect of moral norms, probity of life must be demanded from all leaders and all party members.

The range of posts that can be filled through applications called for publicly and held for specified periods of time must be expanded. Far greater numbers of talented young people should be nominated to leading posts in all fields of political and social life. Mutual representation among the leading bodies of the party and state organs and the social organizations should be reduced as far as possible. The decentralization of powers concerning cadre-management should be continued, the number of party, economic and social offices falling within the sphere of competence of the higher party organs should be reduced.

The members of the Poltical Committee and the Secretariat, the chairman and secretary of the central control committee, the secretaries of the Budapest and county party committees and of committees in the towns and Budapest districts can be elected to the same post for two terms at the most—if their work makes them fit for this.

This principle must also be applied in the appointment of the Central Committee department heads. Provisions must be made for leaders leaving their post to find appropriate jobs.

The changes that have occurred in the internal operation of the party, together with those that are planned, justify the elaboration of new organizational rules. The Central Committee should set up a working committee for this purpose, that should submit its proposal to the 14th congress.

E. The consistent pursuit and renewal of the policy of alliance is an indispensable condition for the building of socialism.

With the transformation of the class and strata relations of society, with the enrichment of the policy of the party, with full-scale socialist construction, the HSWP has become the party of the people. It continues to regard its most important task to be the attainment of the historical goals of the working class which express national interests. Continuing the well tried traditions of the alliance of workers and peasants and applying them to the present conditions, it relies and counts on the support and active participation of the intelligentsia and youth. It considers it as an important task to unite the nation's creative forces, and people with different world views.

We cooperate with all those citizens having different concepts and world views, who are working actively on the building of our socialist homeland, and who respect our constitutional order and our international commitments.

We proclaim the party's position with conviction, but we also take into account views that differ from it. We regard constructive criticism and proposals as an important driving force for our advancement. We judge the different ideas by their content. The party organs, the institutions of people's power and the bodies of the social organizations should also examine the ideas that differ from theirs to enrich their programmes with the proposals they can put to use, but to dissociate themselves openly, and in a reasoned way, from anything that is incompatible with our socialist principles and national interests.

F. The overwhelming majority of the Hungarian people see the future of the nation in socialism, and wish to take an active part in building it. At the same time, bourgeois views and anti-socialist views have gained ground in our public thinking, and political and ideological indifference is spreading.

Carrying out the tasks ahead of us requires the constant renewal of ideological work, the enlivenment of creative Marxist thinking. The theoretical creative workshops and scientific researchers should analyse the economic and social processes, identify the causes and deeper roots of unfavourable phenomena and tendencies, closely follow the Hungarian and international experiences of socialist development, and draw the conclusions of principle that can be generalized. Through more intensive ideological and conscience-forming work, we must promote the recognition and understanding of new phenomena of social development, and efforts to mould an order of values proved right by reality.

The party organs and organizations should regularly place questions of concern to party members on their agenda and provide answers. They should assist the reception of new ideas serving the development of socialism.

The organizations, institutions and members of the party should take a stand backed by arguments against extreme and conservative views denying the need for socialist reform, attacking and distorting our principles and policy from whatever angle. We should show the real nature of the ideologies and aspirations opposed to socialism. We should encourage commitment to socialism, deepen a scientifically substantiated, realistic national self-image, and strengthen national sentiment and self-esteem.

Socialism absorbs, preserves and enriches the values of mankind. The party regards it as its task to cultivate the national historical heritage and to strengthen the sense of national awareness, of allegiance to tbe body of Hungarians, patriotism motivating for action, internationalist thinking and the idea of friendship among the peoples. It makes efforts for the consolidation of morality at work, for the spread of the community spirit, and to ensure greater respect for the love of work, dedication, honesty, general education and specialized knowledge. The role and importance are growing of such values as individual initiative, the acceptance of responsibility, spirit of enterprise and innovation in the attainment of our aims.

2. Socialist pluralism based on the leading role of the party is a condition for, and a means of, exercising people's power. It creates possibilities for divergent interests to be institutionally expressed, accomodated and transformed into a political will. The activity of the socialist state is a decisive factor of society. In a grave historical situation, winning the broad support of society, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party waged a great and successful struggle for the restoration of the constitutional, legal order of the Hungarian People's Republic, and continues to regard the observance and enforcement of the country's Constitution and the protection of socialist legality as its foremost task.

Social and political development makes it necessary to revise the Constitution.

The socialist state organization should function autonomously and more efficiently, and its functions and responsibility should be clarified.

The division of labour between the party and the government as well as the principles, instruments and methods of the party influencing state life need to be modernized. It is primarily through the communists working in the state organization that the party should assert its political positions and its influence on the operation of state organs.

The bodies of popular representations should be forums for open political debate. The principal function of the National Assembly is legislation, which is its exclusive jurisdiction. At the same time the National Assembly should have a greater role in coordinating social interests, representing common interests, controlling the observance of laws, defining the framework of government work and supervising the government. The representatives who are party members should assert the policy of the party with convincing arguments in the bodies of popular representation.

In continuing the reorganization of the Council of Ministers, the work of state administration must be rationalized and improved at national, regional and local levels alike.

The councils should become institutions of genuine self-government in the residential areas, which are acting effectively as the local executive organs of the socialist state. They should have a share from central resources in proportions regulated by law. The government organs should increase the economic and decision-making autonomy of the councils and give them greater incentive to increase their receipts. The conditions for the work of the councils should also be improved by simplifying the various administrative procedures. There is a need for the National Assembly to draft a new bill on the functions, organization and operation of the councils.

There is a need for democratic relations—free from bureaucracy, based on mutual respect of rights and obligations, and regulated by laws—in the contacts between the state and citizens.

The manner in which citizens and state organs exercise their rights and discharge their obligations must be regulated. A system must also be established for the organization of social debates. The right of voluntary organization, assembly, association, freedom of conscience and religion, the rights of the nationalities, and guarantees for the protection of individual and collective rights must be regulated by law. The institutions of constitutional court and administrative jurisdiction must be created.

The electoral system must be further developed. The electoral law must be amended to give the different organizations, civic communities, representative bodies and work organizations the possibility to participate substantively in the selection of candidates and in making them known. A law must be drafted on the organization of national and local referendums.

The state organs must take measures to strengthen legality as well as state and civil discipline in all fields of social life. There is a justified demand for the protection of probity in public life and the application of the full rigour of law against abuse of power, unlawful gains and the peddling of influence.

3. The autonomy and role of social organizations and movements should be increased in political and state decisions, in the preparation and debate of laws and other regulations and in the control of their execution, in the development of political culture, in the creation of institutional, voluntary forms of democratic community life. They should draw up their own proposals for solutions to the most important questions affecting their members.

The trade unions cherishing historical traditions and grouping the overwhelming majority of workers will have a great responsibility to bear in the future too, with greater emphasis to be placed on partnerhsip recognizing the leading political role of the party. Operating autonomously within this framework of a relation of partnership and representing the interests of their members, the trade unions should make recommendations and shape their own independent opinion, should make their positions and the aspirations of organized workers known to their members and to citizens in general, should increase the openness and publicity of their work. The state organs should ensure the participation of trade unions in the preparation of major political, social and economic decisions. We support initiatives for improving the political and legal conditions for representative trade union activity and for modernizing the movement. The Patriotic People's Front is an important institution of socialist pluralism, and it should continue to work for national consensus, for a lasting alliance of the different forces of society. It should create movement frameworks and political forums for all those who accept the national programme for the building of socialism and wish to take an active part in public life.

The Patriotic People's Front should carry out its activity autonomously, with the ideological guidance and participation of the party. It should initiate common action by the social organizations and citizens associations for the attainment of important social goals. By carrying out its functions under public law and playing its role in the organization of elections and referendums, it should strengthen the influence of citizens on the organs of popular representation and state administration. Through its movement activity it should serve the coordination of the interest of different communities, the enrichment of the society's political standards, the exercise of human rights. In the course of shaping and presenting their positions and political ideas, the party organs should take greater advantage of the possibilities offered by the forums of the People's Front movement.

The Hungarian Communist Youth Union is the united political mass organization of the Hungarian youth. The party guides the youth union, while respecting its organizational autonomy.

The CYU [Communist Youth Union] should strengthen the new practice that has been taking shape recently in its political activity among young people. It should represent the interests of young people publicly and take part in the preparation of decisions on societal policy. It should develop a continuous dialogue with the different youth groups, circles and asociations and should, within its own framework, devise forms of organization better expressing the segmentation of youth.

There is need to expand the possibilities for young people to organize, and we support the creation of self-governing youth circles, clubs and associations in keeping with the special activities and interests of the different youth strata and groups.

In the future we will rely more heavily on the social organizations, movements, cooperatives, associations and socieities carrying out their activities within constitutional frameworks in the different fields of social life, the economy, culture, public health, environmental protection and sports.

The party members should take part with a spirit of initiative in the work of social organizations and movements and assist their effective operation in pursuit of socialist goals.

4. Social openness, which serves to create good opportunities for orientation in public life, for recognition of diverse and identical interests, for creation of consensus and for control by society, is an important part of the further development of socialist democracy. Political openness should extend to party, state and social life, to the rights of citizens and the way they are exercised.

Prompt, precise and regular information must be given on state and political decisions. The population must be informed about the policy statements of the Central Committee and its executive organs affecting society as well as about the meetings of party committees of different levels.

The party organizations should give greater publicity to their activity. The party's papers and periodicals should convincingly represent the position of the party's bodies and organs and give space to debates.

The party should use the instruments and methods of ideological guidance to strengthen its political influence in the mass media. The state organs and social organizations and associations launching and maintaining publications should bear full political, professional, moral and material responsibility for their publications.

Those working in the mass media should carry out their tasks with commitment and responsibility, should faithfully reflect reality, and should support the building of socialism. They should popularize good examples of economic, scientific and cultural activity, and make constructive criticism of phenomena standing in the path of progress. They should extend assistance to the struggle against phenomena undermining the public feeling and the probity of public life and offending society's sense of justice.

II.

1. Our most important task in the economy is to implement the Central Committee's programme of advancement adopted on 2nd July 1987 and the Council of Ministers programme of stabilisation.

The basic condition for the stabilization of the economy is to slow down and then halt the growth of external indebtedness, and to restore the internal financial equilibrium. These imperative requirements must be met—and can only be met successfully—by making every effort to increase the efficiency of economic activity, which must be reflected in the improvement of market competitiveness. The consolidation of order and discipline, the acceleration of technical development, modernization of the structure of production and the product pattern must serve this goal. Stabilization and advancement are in the interest of the nation and all society, and this goal must be achieved despite the fact that certian steps and measures conflict with the short-term interests of some economic units or of a part of the population.

Accepting that the socialist economy is a commodity-producing economy, we support the application of all those instruments that force the market organizations to take the laws of the market into account and facilitate the appropriate flow of social capital and manpower to areas of more efficient activity.

In the future too, socialist, communal ownership will remain decisive in our multisectoral economy. It is an important task to operate state and cooperative property more efficiently and to assert the proprietary rights of disposal and responsibility. There is a need to enrich the forms of community property.

In the present stage of building socialism, and for a long while to come, there is a need for the population's savings to enter into the circulation of the economy, and also for foreign operating capital to be involved in domestic production. We support any initiatives, including the introduction of mixed ownership ventures and the stimulation of private activity that serve to increase the national income and improve the population's standard of living.

All operating units—regardless of size, form of ownership and field of activity—must be motivated to increase economic performance. The possibilities of the operation of different forms of ownership must be expanded and appropriate organizational frameworks must be created for a variety of combinations of forms. Conditions of operation in the economy must be created which make it possible to earn incomes in proportion to performance and investment and open the way to the development of

undertakings that are useful to, and produce results for, society as well. To this end, it is necessary to adopt a new law on associations that will make it possible to expand the organizational frameworks of economic operation, strengthen collective proprietary interests, encourage the creation of joint ventures, and involve private undertakings and foreign operating capital to a greater extent.

2. The economic reform, which serves to create the operating conditions for a socialist commodity-producing market economy, must be continued. There is a need for simple and clear solutions and practices in the management of the economy. Economic management must make it possible for the participants in the economy to work under conditions that are defined in high-level regulations and remain valid over a longer period, it must help them adapt rapidly and flexibly to changes. The institutions of central guidance, its division of labour and system of relations must be developed in keeping with the greater autonomy of economic operation, and the expanding powers and responsibility.

The plan for the national economy must become an instrument for the coordination of fundamental economic policy goals, for the assertion of desirable proportions, for the forecasting and influencing of the main economic processes. The reform of economic planning and the budget must serve this end.

In keeping with the other elements of the economic reform, a comprehensive change must be made in wage policy and the wage system. The wage reform must result in easing the restrictions on income regulation and achieving wage proportions adjusted to the social usefulness and effectiveness of the work done. The internal incentive systems of enterprise should promote the appropriate moral and material recognition of full-time activities.

We must be prepared to accept the social consequences of creating the economic conditions for the programme of advancement, particularly those of structural transformation and the phasing out of subsidies.

Transformation of the economic structure inevitably calls for a higher degree of manpower mobility towards the dynamically developing sectors and enterprises. The temporary difficulties in finding employment must be eased with retraining and state support. The fate of those who find themselves without a job requires institutional assistance. Special attention must be devoted to the solution of the employment problems of disadvantaged individuals and groups as well as of first-time job seekers. These problems should be eased and humanely dealt with primarily by state means.

It is appropriate to examine the conditions necessary for the state to guarantee a minimum level of living.

A uniform system of social policy must be elaborated, in harmony with a modernized social insurance scheme and the reform of the pension system. The decline in the real value of pensions must be checked. Institutionalized care must be provided for those who find themselves in a difficult situation through no fault of their own. Social policy means must be used to support families in the first place. Voluntary individual and social initiatives helping towards a responsible solution of welfare problems must be given support.

It is in our national interest that women be able to perform their role as employees and as mothers under better conditions; gradual and concrete steps are needed to ease the burden of families in child raising, to offset processes adversely affecting the situation of certain segments of youth, and to reduce the inequality of social opportunities.

It is in the interest of individuals and society that the population's state of health should improve. The conditions must be created for the implementation of the social and national programme for the preservation of health.

Comprehensive modernization must be carried out in housing construction and housing management so that real value and cost relations come increasingly into play. The housing situation must be improved, taking into account regional development, structural transformation and labour mobility. Measures are needed to expand the supply of housing. Greater support should be given to those who are unable to improve their bad housing situation through their own efforts and those who would like to acquire a first home of their own.

Balanced regional development is needed to increase the ability of smaller settlements to retain the population. Continued efforts must be made to strengthen the economic bases of backward areas under the national and county programmes.

3. Intellectual work generating values is a decisive factor in our social and economic advance and plays a growing role in the production of goods, the reproduction of social resources and the opening up of new processes. This must be reflected in appropriate political, material and moral recognition for intellectual work, knowledge and performance.

Scientific research has a decisive role to play in the solution of tasks facing society and in the technological renewal of the national economy. Support must be given both to basic research projects and to forward-oriented applied research of a high standard useful •o economic and social development, to technological development. The practical application of scientific achievements must be facilitated. This calls for creation of appropriate economic, legal, financial and organizational conditions.

People's level of general education, schooling and vocational training is a decisive factor for social and economic progress and the success of the reforms. Even now, when the central resources are limited, the material means should be secured of improving the conditions for formal and adult education and reducing inequalities of opportunities.

Development of the educational system and raising the standard of teaching are fundamental conditions for the attainment of our social and political goals. The education institutions should provide a sound general education and up-to-date vocational training and devote greater attention to the education of youth, the formation of their moral values and the development of their personality.

In the course of modernizing the content of education, special attention must be devoted to developing education in the primary school, which lays the foundations of general culture, and to secondary education. Economic organizations should play a greater role in professional training, with an appropriate pattern of division of labour to be established between formal education and forms of further training and retraining by enterprises.

By the early 1990s, the number of students receiving secondary education with a matriculation certificate and participating in higher education should be increased in accordance with national economic tasks. Measures must be taken to begin creation of the conditions needed for this and for the modernization of training, with a view to establishing a qualitatively better and more up-to-date system of higher education.

4. Literary and artistic life is characterized by openness and diversity, but a spirit of sound criticism is still not always the norm. There are no clarifying debates, a fact which renders the selection of values more difficult. The system of cultural institutions shows signs of malfunction, due in part to the mechanical application of the market aspects of economic life, in part to the delay in the comprehensive reform of the cultural field. Inferior works and productions that undermine good taste, proclaim violence and are ideologically confused have gained ground to the detriment of works of value.

The shaping of demands, the development of taste, the influence of the education institutions in cultural education and the increased availability of works of value have made possible a wider spread of cultural values. The necessary reform should give wider autonomy to institutions and leave scope for initiatives by different communities for patronage of arts. State support should be provided for valuable initiatives and creations.

The further improvement of cultural programmes by the nationwide cultural institutions and mass media, particularly television and radio, and the responsible activity of their managers are of great importance in making people acquainted with works of value in the arts and literature. III.

The favourable international image of Hungary is due above all to our achievements in the building of socialism, to our reform policy, and to our international activity on this basis, and we shall be able to preserve this image by continuing to act along these lines.

Peace and cooperation among countries with different social systems are fundamental conditions for our internal construction. The intensive international activity of our party and the Hungarian People's Republic is based on this recognition. Our foreign policy, which is supported by the most diverse strata of our society, has become one of the most important factors in national cohesion.

The process of transformation going on in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries ensures favourable conditions for the implementation of our programme of social and economic renewal. In the peaceful competition among social systems, the processes of renewal strengthen the positions of socialism and assist the full development of detente. Our country is a recognized actor in this process, an initiator and a participant of the international dialogue.

Improved international conditions and greater scope of action for our country's foreign policy also result from the fact that, due primarily to the influence of the flexibility, the new approach and initiatives of Soviet foreign policy, the favourable trends in the world have grown stronger, the Soviet-American dialogue has been renewed. East-West relations have become more dynamic, the international atmosphere has improved and, on the whole, peace and security have been strengthened since the mid-eighties. The strengthening of a realistic approach in the leading circles of the capitalist countries and their readiness to enter into talks have made added contributions to this process.

The substantive participation of Hungarian diplomacy in the application of the principles of peaceful coexistence, in the East-West dialogue, and in the reduction of distrust between the big powers, the alliance system and countries with different social systems has increased our country's international prestige.

Around a third of Hungarians live beyond our borders, most of them in the neighboring socialist countries. Under conditions of socialism we find it natural for the exercise of individual and collective nationality rights to be guaranteed. Whatever the country in which they live, nationalities rightly demand support in preserving their mother tongue, developing their culture, and fostering their ties with the mother country. Problems in their situation can only be solved by displaying humanism and guaranteeing universal human rights and democracy. For this to be achieved it is also necessary to slacken prejudices inherited from the past. We endeavour to strengthen understanding, confidence and cooperation with every neighboring people.

We are convinced that the dual attachment of nationalities living in Hungary and of Hungarians living in the neighboring countries may serve a useful purpose in strengthening understanding and confidence between neighboring peoples.

Increased and effective participation in the inaternational processes, in the international division of labour, in scientific-technological and financial cooperation is a matter of vital importance for our country.

The most important component of the international background to our domestic activity is the development of our friendly, internationalist relations with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty and CMEA member states, with the socialist countries in general, on the basis of common interests and by raising our cooperation as equal partners to a qualitatively new level. We are striving for a substantive and organizational modernization and renewal of our bi- and multilateral cooperation with these countries and for mobilization of our reserves, by drawing on their experiences. In the interest of the modernization of intra-CMEA cooperation, which can no longer be postponed, we attach special importance to the further development of commodity and monetary relations and of the system of economic instruments.

It is in the vital interest of the Hungarian People's Republic to develop, in all spheres of life, settled and friendly relations and closer cooperation with its immediate neighbours, with its wider environment, with all states.

On the basis of the principles of mutual advantages and peaceful cooperation, we are further expanding our political, economic, scientific and technological, cultural and humanitarian cooperation with the developed socialist countries. We are striving for normalized relations, regulated by agreements, with the European Economic Community.

We have an interest in the easing of the increasingly serious social and economic problems of the developing world, in the peaceful solutions of the dangerous local crises. Our people is in solidarity with the developing countries' struggling for the consolidation of their independence and for the creation of just international economic relations, with the national movements struggling against dictatorial and racist regimes.

In the spirit of internationalist solidarity we cooperate closely with the communist and workers parties. We are developing our relations with the socialist and social democratic parties, with the forces of the left, the progressive and national liberation movements.

In the future too our country will undertake an active role in the service of creating a more secure world and promoting the cause of peace and progress. We are stepping up our efforts for the reduction of East-West tensions, the establishment of parity at a lower level of armaments, the promotion of dialogue and cooperation, and easing the global problems in our divided but interdependent world.

The building of socialism is a long historical process. It is the firm intention of the party to carry out the historic mission it has undertaken for the development of Hungarian society.

The path we have travelled teaches us that the party is able to play its role and arouse confidence only if it responds sensitively to the new phenomena of reality and is capable of acting with initiative. This is the case now, too, when progress is impeded by problems partly inherited and partly of more recent origin. The HSWP launches a call for action to everyone who feels responsibility for the future of the Hungarian nation, who is capable of assisting with deeds the building of a socialist Hungary, our common goal.

It is of vital importance for our nation that we make the operation of our social system more rational, efficient and effective, and that we find modern, socialist solutions, corresponding to the specific conditions of the country, for the new problems of development.

We cannot expect a better life for families and individuals except from the advancement of the entire nation. How and when we are able to overcome the difficulties of the present period and to move forward towards a better future depends first and foremost on our united will, on the mobilization of our forces, on our work, and on the full utilization of our capabilities and knowledge. Let our deeds and actions be guided by patriotism and responsibility for our common future.

Conference Resolution Passed

LD2205120988 Budapest MTI in English 1147 GMT 22 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—After the contribution of Janos Berecz, twelve delegates proposed further amendments in the draft policy statement. The Editing Committee withdrew to assess and the initiatives and carry out wording. For this time, the conference was interrupted.

After the break, Janos Berecz outlined the comments of the Editing Committee on the proposals and then the resolution was passed according to the working order.

The national conference of the HSWP adopted the policy statement on the tasks of the party and the further development of the system of political institutions with 4 votes against and 9 abstentions.

With the resolution, the discussion of the first point on the agenda came to an end, and the conference continued with a closed session. The closing plenary session is scheduled to open at 7 p.m.

Grosz Television Interview

LD2205202088 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1852 GMT 22 May 88

[Interview with newly elected MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz by Budapest Television correspondent Endre Aczel; on 22 May at the Ferenc Rozsa Building Workers' Culture House in Budapest—live]

[Text] [Aczel] Good evening, Comrade Grosz. I would like to begin this conversation—and I am not just doing this out of good manners—to congratulate you, on behalf of the public as well, on your election to the post of the party's general secretary.

[Grosz] Thank you very much. It is a great honor for me that the party conference has elected me a member of the Central Committee and that the Central Committee elected me the party's general secretary. I will do my utmost to completely fulfill this mandate, which I consider an honor.

[Aczel] The national party conference has now ended, and I think everyone is drawing up a balance sheet or is about to do so—you, too, I think. I would like to ask you if I am correct in saying that this conference has given a mandate for effecting comprehensive and radical changes to the party's new leadership.

[Grosz] Yes, you are correct in seeing it that way. The new political concept which the party conference today adopted in a resolution took shape in a tough 1 and 1/2 year-long debate; in a rich and varied debate. In a sense, this is no less than the modification of the program adopted at the 13th Congress. It contains the values of the road covered, because there are many things of which we can be proud. But of course it has clearly and very critically faced up to the weaknesses as well, and it has given a firm indicator to the party's leading organs, the Central Committee, the Politburo, and the Central Committee's secretaries, that they should get down in earnest to organizing its implementation.

This new policy, if I dare and if I may put it this way, means above all that in domestic political relations a new attitude, a new relationship, is needed in public life, in social life, in human relationships, in spirit, in ideological work, and in production as well.

In international relations it means a consistent and even more determined continuation along the path followed so far, toward our socialist friends and the socialist world. As before, we will continue to fulfill the obligations we have undertaken in the past, and we will contribute—within our own modest means—to the development of the socialist community. As for the nonsocialist world beyond our country's borders, we will continue to conduct a very open policy, as we have done until now. We would also like to have useful, creative cooperation, based on mutual interests, with all those who want to work with and cooperate with us.

[Aczel] You have just announced radical domestic changes, or at least major changes, and the continuation of the present policies in foreign relations with the socialist world and the capitalist world. They can build on what they call the predictability of Hungarians, as before?

[Grosz] Yes, precisely. This is what we are talking about. Hungarian foreign policy has been precisely calculable for decades. It has always been possible to know what we wanted. We told friend and foe alike what we thought of the world, what we thought about tomorrow, and what our stance was. This is how it will be in the future as well.

We will conduct a committed policy toward the socialist community, and an open policy toward the world outside the socialist community. We want peace, cooperation, and economic cooperation on the basis of mutual interests. We have covered a great distance on this road, but not enough, I feel. We could do even more.

[Aczel] Well, here is a question which, according to some people, cannot be avoided. You have now been elected party general secretary, and insofar as I know, you remain premier. Now, you must be reminded that it is now on the agenda in Hungary that the functions of the party and the government should be gradually separated, and they should not be stuck together. Do you not see, therefore, a contradiction between the two things, between your dual functions and this?

[Grosz] Well, first of all I do not see any kind of contradiction. Namely, the thought that the party direction must be more and gradually separated from state direction, in point of fact, does not mean the incompatibility of the person of the premier and the party general secretary, but rather a discontinuation of parallelisms and sameness in decisions by bodies, and a cessation and elimination of overlapping in the executive apparatus.

At the same time, when I say that it is not a question of principle whether or not the same person fills these two functions, I must say that Hungarian practice is that, if possible, these two positions should not be held by the same person.

Of course, there has been a period in Hungarian history when the party general secretary, or first secretary, was also premier—and by the way, this is not unusual internationally. I am only thinking here of our neighbor, is that not so? In Austria, the chancellor was just in the recent past elected leader of his party, and there are a great many examples of this.

Nevertheless, we think that in the not-so-distant future this must be separated. Now, however, that the decision has come about, we must temporarily undertake this work together, and I shall endeavor to fulfill this task, which is not easy. I trust in the support of my colleagues, I believe in the intention of public opinion to help, and in its strength.

When the conditions, the personnel conditions, have been created, I am convinced that the positions must be separated.

[Aczel] Then we should understand this to mean that it is not a long-term decision.

[Grosz] I cannot answer how long-term this will be, because on the one part the Central Committee must decide on this, and parliament must also decide. As for myself, I will try not to have the dual assignment last long, because I do not want to complain to anyone—well, I trust that it is believed that even the one means quite a lot of work.

[Aczel] Comrade Grosz, you earlier mentioned, or rather asked for, the effective support of public opinion—I believe that it does not appear to be immodest to the viewers, either, if I say that I can assure you of this, and at the same time I wish you strength and health for your new, dual function. Good work and prosperity.

[Grosz] Thank you. I, too, from here, from this place, from this hall where I was just elected, would like to wish all of my comrades and communists good health. And to every Hungarian citizen who works honestly and wants to do something for this country, I would like to make a committed promise that I will do everything to the best of my abilities so that the country prospers, so that we progress, and so that the problems weighing on society and on the economy are resolved. So our big program: We should be able to progress along the path of building socialism.

[Aczel] Thank you very much for the interview.

[Grosz] Thank you. I wish you all the best.